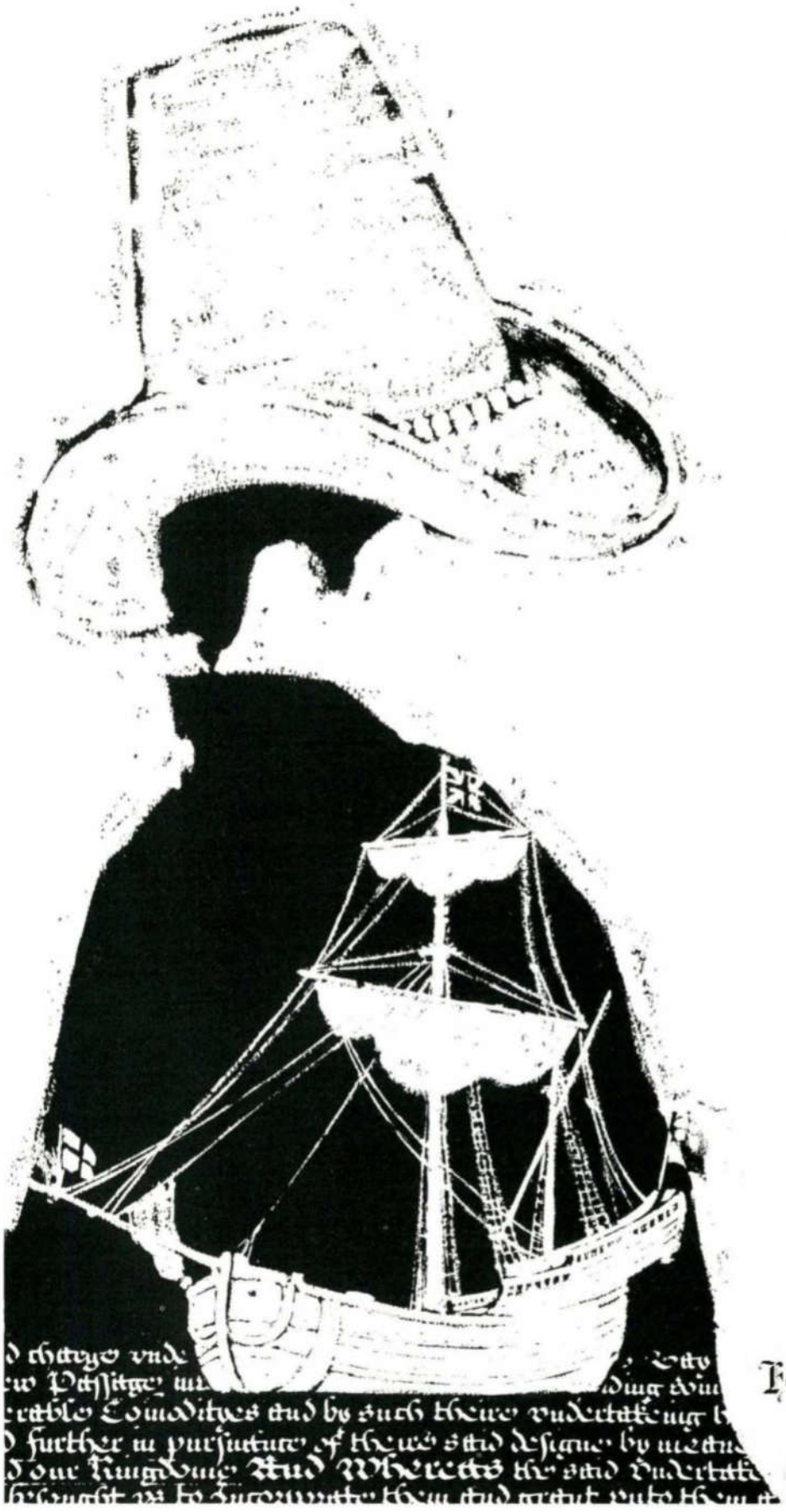
The Beaver

AUTUMN 1971

Tracking the Rapids

by Frances Anne Hopkins



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Hudson's Bay Company

INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670

The Beaver

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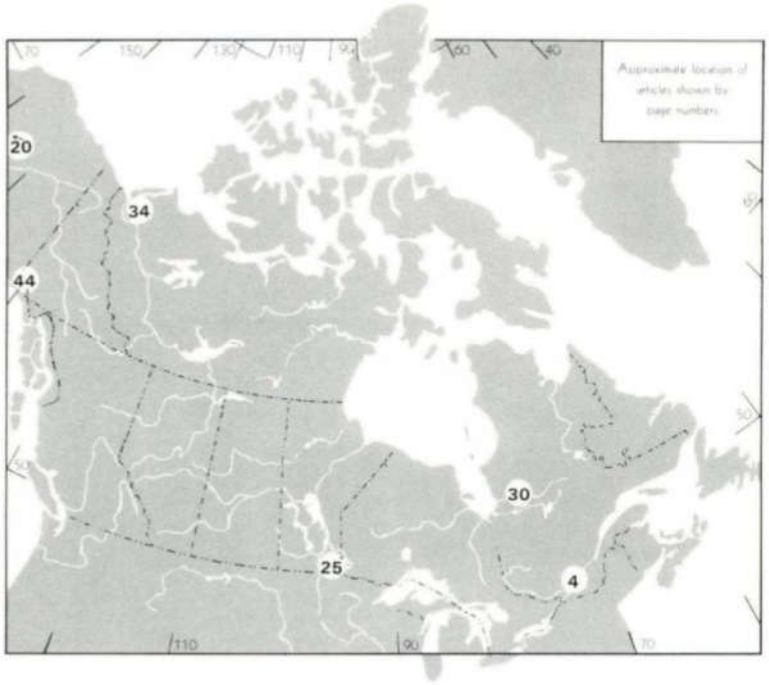

COVER *Tracking the Rapids*, watercolour 10½ x 12½ ins. by Frances Anne Hopkins in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum.

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EDWARD AND FRANCES HOPKINS OF MONTREAL

BY ALICE M. JOHNSON

Until her retirement in 1968 Alice Johnson was for many years archivist of the Hudson's Bay Company and assistant editor of its Record Society. She is known to scholars throughout Europe and America for her meticulous research and for the anonymous contribution she has generously made to innumerable historical publications.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to use the archives in preparation of this article, and to officials of the Royal Ontario Museum, the Public Archives of Canada, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, for their co-operation. All illustrations are the work of Mrs Hopkins.

WHEN THAT NEWLY CREATED knight bachelor, George Simpson, Governor of Rupert's Land, set off from London on 3 March 1841 on his journey round the world he was accompanied, among others, by a young man of almost twenty-one who had been engaged to act as his secretary. This young man was Edward Martin Hopkins, a newcomer to the fur trade.

Hopkins was born on 18 July 1820, most probably in the township that had grown out of the 'populous hamlet of Stratford Langthorne . . . the last village of Essex on the great London road', and is now part of the heavily industrialized and modern London Borough of Newham. The township came within the parish of All Saints, West Ham, and it is in the register of this ancient church, under 23 January 1821, that the record of Hopkins' baptism can be found.

Edward was the second son and third child of Martin Edward Hopkins (1786-1836) and his wife Ann Manley (1785-1875) of Halberton, Devon. They were married in 1814 and their first home was in the Kennington area of the modern London Borough of Lambeth. Their two elder children, Ann Eleanor (1815-87) and Manley (1818-97) were born before the family moved to Stratford on the north side of the Thames. There, on the north side of The Grove, they occupied a modest 'house, yard and garden' adjoining the more commodious premises owned by Lord Henniker. Two more sons, Charles Gordon (1822-86) and Thomas Marsland (1825-62) were born to the Hopkins.

The reason for the move from the south to the north side of the Thames is not known, but Martin Hopkins gained at least one advantage because he now had a more direct journey to his office in Cornhill in the City of London where he was then the last-named partner in the firm of Hopkins, Glover and Hopkins, ship and insurance brokers.

Until Stratford had its Chapel of Ease, St John the Evangelist, in the early 1830s the Hopkins family would have attended West Ham Parish Church where John Henry Pelly of Upton House, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company since 1822, also worshipped, and among their local acquaintances they certainly numbered Mr James Webster, an intimate friend of Lady Simpson's family.

The exact circumstances leading to Edward Martin Hopkins joining the Hudson's Bay Company in 1841 as a clerk for five years at £100 per annum have not been recorded, but it seems likely that social connections formed in West Ham played some part in introducing him to the fur trade. The death of Martin Hopkins in 1836 must have affected the family's financial position. Manley (the eldest son and father-to-be of the poet, Gerard Manley Hopkins) presumably joined his father's firm, and Edward became a Parliamentary reporter. The only contemporary reference to this stage in Edward's career is to be found in one of the letters Letitia Hargrave, wife of Chief Factor James Hargrave, wrote to her family in Scotland from York Factory in 1842, but confirmation that he had indeed mastered 'the noble art and mystery of stenography'—to quote from *David Copperfield*—can be seen from his shorthand notes and copies of letters which are to be found among Sir George Simpson's papers in the Company's archives. Like young Copperfield in fiction and Charles Dickens in fact, as a Parliamentary reporter Edward Hopkins would have recorded predictions that never came to pass, professions never fulfilled, and explanations only meant to mystify, and, like them, no doubt quickly grew tired of the political scene. He surely must have eagerly seized the opportunity of going with Sir George half way across the world.

So long as Hopkins was with him during the journey Simpson kept a journal, but unlike his other diaries, except one, it is not in his own writing. That part of the journal which has survived, from 3 March to 4 September 1841, is in the distinctive hand of his secretary. Simpson, in his *Narrative of a Journey Round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842*, which was published in 1847 after a number of people had assisted in its preparation (including Manley Hopkins, who saw the two volumes 'through the press'), referred to Hopkins' return from

Bivouac of a canoe party, an untitled large oil painting, signed F AH 1871. PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

Honolulu to Fort Vancouver in March 1842, and said that his going was 'a serious loss with respect to the keeping of my journal, more particularly as my own eyes were by no means strong; and, in consequence of this, my subsequent notes were generally rougher and scantier than I could have wished'. The journal kept for Simpson by Hopkins from 5 September 1841 to 14 March 1842 is now lost. Also lost are the notes kept by Simpson during the remainder of his journey and the 'private Journal' which Hopkins was instructed to keep from the time he left Honolulu until his return to England.

As will be seen from Simpson's *Narrative of a Journey Round the World* he and his party travelled *via* Liverpool, Halifax, Boston, Concord, Vermont and Lake Champlain to Montreal, where they arrived on 23 March. As soon as ice conditions allowed they set out (on 4 May) from Lachine in two light canoes for the West. Everything was new to Hopkins and until he became accustomed to the Governor's swift rate of travel he must have found each day's journey, beginning as it usually did about one a.m. and lasting until nearly sunset, very exhausting. Besides describing a typical 'day's march' Simpson has also left an account of all the evening activities of the canoe crews at the camp sites. Their necessary duties, as well as other aspects of canoe travel during the fur trade era, were later to be portrayed on canvas by Hopkins' second wife, Frances.

After thirty-eight days travel from Lachine and having followed the route *via* the Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing, Lake Huron, Sault Ste Marie, Fort William (Lake Superior), Rainy Lake, Winnipeg River and Lake Winnipeg, Simpson and his party arrived in the Red River Settlement. This was the place chosen for the 1841 meeting of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land over which Simpson presided, and it would be interesting to know if Hopkins was present in his capacity as the Governor's secretary, or if one of the commissioned officers was responsible for taking the minutes. Although Hopkins was certainly kept busy by Simpson he would have had some opportunities for relaxation in the social atmosphere of this Rupert's Land settlement which was so remote from the Canadian towns and communities in the East. No doubt he gave the ladies something to talk about, especially if he made a similar impression on them as he did on Letitia Hargrave little more than a year later at York Factory. When describing him to her family she disapprovingly reported:

> Mr. Hopkins . . . is or was a 'reporter' but is as different from what I had imagined a Parliamentary reporter to be as can be conceived. He seems 23 or 24, very dandified or rather peculiar in his style of dress & uncommonly nice looking, but with a volubility of speech that I never heard equalled. & a willingness to communicate what he knows that surprised me, who am used to such reserve. . . .

Simpson's journey was resumed from Red River on 3 July, the canoes being replaced by horses which carried the party *via* Fort Ellice, Carlton House, Fort Pitt, Edmonton House, the headwaters of Red Deer River, the Bow River near Banff, and through Simpson Pass to Fort Colvile in six weeks and five days. For the remainder of the journey to Fort Vancouver, where they arrived on 25 August, they travelled by canoes.

While Simpson went to visit the Russian American Company's officials at Sitka Hopkins was left in charge at Nisqually, but on the Governor's return he accompanied him to California and the Hawaiian Islands. Some

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

'Turning to "the Switch", Lachine, Nov. 1859.'

years later Hopkins' younger brother Charles was to be associated with the Islands, and his elder brother, Manley, who was in business as an average adjuster, was to become 'Consul General for the Hawaiian Government and their Chargé d'Affaires for Great Britain', and the author of *Hawaii: The Past, Present and Future of Its Island Kingdom* (London, 1862).

After spending about a month in the Islands Hopkins sailed for Fort Vancouver on 14 March 1842. Simpson parted from him reluctantly to continue his own journey back to London by way of Alaska, Siberia and Russia. Hopkins, meanwhile, followed the usual fur trade route overland to York Factory, where he embarked in the Company's ship *Prince Rupert* for London. He was carrying Simpson's dispatches to the Governor and Committee. Included among the reports on the fur trade for outfit 1841-42 was a private letter from Simpson to Sir John Henry Pelly saying how pleased he was with Hopkins, 'whose whole conduct and character are everything that could be desired'. Simpson went on to press for preferential treatment for his protégé because the young man had said that he would not remain in the Company's employ after the expiry of his contract unless he could be certain of early promotion. Simpson recommended that Hopkins should be promoted to the rank of Chief Trader 'as soon as a favorable opportunity offers' after the expiry of his first contract. Only Simpson's copy of this letter survives: it is in Hopkins' handwriting.

Chief Factor John Rowand kept an eye on Hopkins during the journey eastwards across the Rocky Mountains and, in private letters to Simpson, said that the young man was 'no more a porkeater'. He had, in fact, become 'a regular voyageur', eating 'horse flesh dog and every thing . . . like one who has been travelling all his life'. At least one pardonable incident (amorous, one suspects from Rowand's sympathetic remarks) had occurred which his mother should not be told about, but she and the other members of the family would find 'a great change (for the better)' in Edward.

He was back in London by the end of October 1842 and Simpson arrived from the opposite direction about the same time. In April 1843 they left together for Lachine and thereafter Hopkins was almost always in attendance wherever the energetic Governor went on business.

When and where Hopkins first met Annie Ogden, eldest daughter of Isaac Ogden of Three Rivers, Quebec, is not known, but it is likely that the introduction was made by her uncle, Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden. He returned from the Company's New Caledonia District to spend a well-earned furlough in Canada and Britain during outfit 1844-45 and Annie travelled with him. Again, it is not known when Edward and Annie became formally engaged. He obtained his Chief Tradership in 1847. This promotion gave him a share of the profits in lieu of a fixed salary and as his financial prospects were more promising he no doubt felt that he could afford to marry. The remark in his letter to Simpson written from Three Rivers on 30 August 1847, 'A letter to my address at Niagara Falls on Monday and Tuesday next week will find me there', suggests that he and Annie were off on a honeymoon trip. What is more certain is that on 12 December of the following year Lady Simpson wrote from Lachine to her unmarried sister, Louisa Simpson, in London, saying that Annie Hopkins was ill and delicately hinting at a miscarriage.

The young couple lived quietly at Lachine and every Sunday were guests of the Simpson family. Edward was

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

Sir George Simpson's house on Ile d'Orvale (Isle Dorval), close to Lachine, 1859; Mrs Hopkins notes 'since burnt down'.

a pattern of steadiness and hard work, and Annie's housekeeping talents were so much admired by Sir George that he consulted her on all points. Gentle Lady Simpson made these remarks to her sister without any trace of jealousy or rancour. In a letter to her brother, William Scott Simpson, on 30 January 1852 Lady Simpson mentioned that Annie had given birth to 'another son' a few days before and added, 'The first is a few hours older than my Boy'. This boy was the Simpsons' only surviving son and youngest child, John Henry Pelly Simpson, who was born in 1850 and who could have had little or no memory of his mother because she died in March 1853.

Edward's financial position improved further in 1853, the year in which his third son was born. He was appointed a Chief Factor and the future must have appeared bright to both husband and wife. In 1854 Hopkins accompanied the Governor on his summer journey inland to attend the Northern Council at Norway House. On 30 July, when only a few hours from Lachine on the return journey, Hopkins received the staggering news that his wife had died of cholera 'a few days previous'. Simpson, reporting the sad news to the Company in London added, 'The Cholera is making fearful ravages all along the line of communication from the Sault to this place [Lachine]; The deaths in Montreal are estimated at a thousand, and in this small village at upwards of sixty'.

Just over a year later Hopkins took 'his dear little Boys', as Ramsay Crooks, President of the American Fur Company referred to them, to England *via* New York, his intention presumably being to leave them in the care of relatives. His visit was a short one as he was needed at Lachine so he was unable to stay in London for the marriage on 4 December of his brother, the Rev. Thomas Marsland Hopkins, to Katherine Hannah, the eldest of Rear-Admiral Frederick Beechey's five daughters, after an engagement of five and a half years. Brief though his 1855 visit was Edward must surely have met his future sister-in-law and her family, including her sister, Frances Anne, who was then about eighteen or nineteen years of age. The Admiral (1796-1856), a son of the famous portrait painter, Sir William Beechey (1753-1839), was a distinguished geographer with experience of arctic exploration, having served under Parry in 1818-19 and having co-operated, *via* Bering Strait, with Franklin in 1826. The Admiral and his third daughter, Frances Anne, had both inherited Sir William's artistic talents.

Hopkins' next opportunity to meet Frances Beechey must have occurred early in 1857 when he accompanied Simpson to London. The object of the journey was for the Governor to give evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons which was enquiring into the Company's affairs, and although their stay in London was short Edward undoubtedly saw his brother Thomas in his Paddington home. Frances would have been a regular visitor to her sister's house. Some understanding between Edward and Frances was probably established during this time: what is certain is that when he next returned to England, having been granted two months leave of absence, it was as Sir George Simpson said, 'on urgent private business'. Edward left Lachine early in August 1858 and on the last day of that month married Frances Anne Beechey at St Saviour's Church, Paddington, London. The ceremony was performed by the incumbent, his brother Thomas.

Edward was returning to a country with which he had long been familiar, but for Frances it was new and in

Frances Anne Hopkins in 1863.

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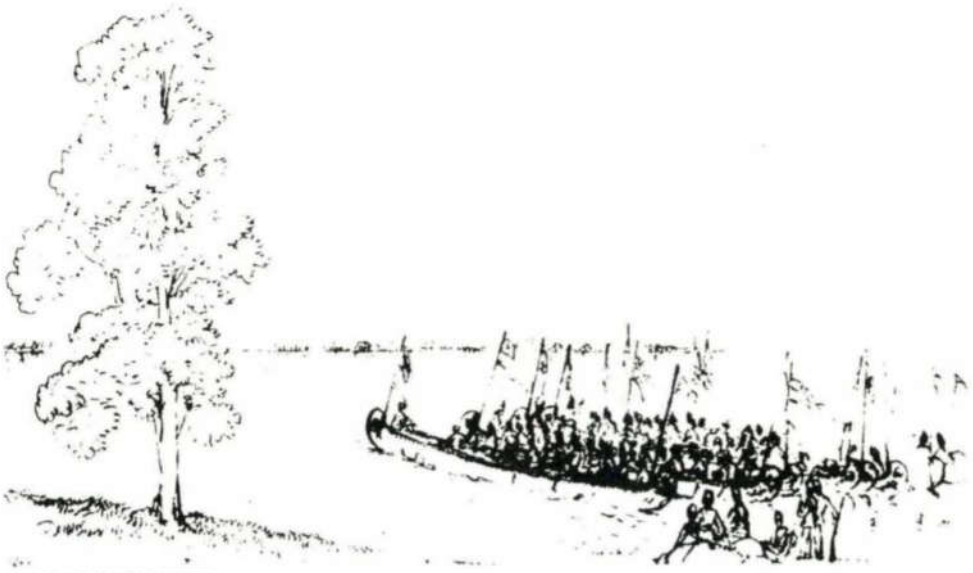


ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

'Canoes waiting for the Prince of Wales' on his visit to Dorval in 1860, the subject of an oil painting later exhibited in the Royal Academy.

Small watercolour study 'Canoes in a Fog, Lake Superior' and the large oil painting dated 1869.

GLENBOW-ALBERTA INSTITUTE

'Priest meditating, Ottawa River 18 July 1866' a watercolour from the sketchbook in the Public Archives.

many ways completely different from what she had known before. There was much for her to see and do. It is extremely doubtful, however, if she made any but local canoe trips during her first years in Canada because as well as having three young step-sons to care for she had two sons of her own by June 1861. If it is thought that domestic ties were not enough to prevent her from making canoe journeys with Simpson account should be taken of the fact that the aging Governor, always with Hopkins in attendance, still travelled fast, but with a difference, for he had discontinued using the ancient and arduous canoe route *via* the Ottawa River and now went as far west as possible by linking railways and continued to Fort Garry 'overland *via* St. Paul', Minnesota. Their annual summer destination was the meeting place of the Council of the Northern Department. This was at Norway House at the northeast end of Lake Winnipeg, and by the time Frances arrived in Canada Simpson was using canoes only between there and Fort Garry. Hopkins, as usual, went with Simpson to attend the Council meetings in 1859 and 1860, but in the latter year the journey was abandoned at St Paul because Simpson was taken ill and forced to return to Lachine. So Frances had to wait for the canoe journeys on the Mattawa River and Lake Superior which were to provide subjects for her best known paintings. But she found much of interest near at hand for the exercise of her talents and the results can be seen in her 'Sketch-Book' (now in the Sigmund Samuel Collection in the Royal Ontario Museum) and among her watercolours in the Public Archives of Canada. Furthermore, according to Algernon Graves' *Dictionary*, her work was first exhibited in London in 1860.

Simpson, recovered from his illness, helped to entertain the Prince of Wales on 29 August 1860 at — to quote *The Illustrated London News* (13 October 1860, p. 344) — a 'Grand Canoe Reception . . . on the St. Lawrence'. Frances included a sketch of 'Canoes waiting for the Prince of Wales' in her 'Sketch-Book', but her oil painting, described in the *Catalogue* as 'The visit of the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII) to Lachine Rapids, Canada, in 1860', was not exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, until 1902, the year following the Prince's accession to the throne.

Just over a week after the royal visit, on 7 September, Simpson died and the long years of 'close official intercourse and personal friendship' between him and Hopkins

ended. One of the Governor's last requests to the Committee in London was that the charge of the Lachine 'establishment' should devolve upon Hopkins. The 'establishment' was moved from Lachine to Montreal at the end of April 1861 and it was from here that Hopkins controlled the affairs of the Montreal Department during the remainder of his service. His charge included the stations in the Company's Mingan district in the east and extended to Fort William at the western end of Lake Superior. The last two Governors of Rupert's Land made their headquarters in the Red River Settlement, and Hopkins, the only Chief Factor to have regularly attended meetings of both the Northern and Southern councils, never again travelled westwards beyond Fort William on Company business.

When and in what circumstances did Frances make journeys by canoe? Where did she go, and who were the fellow-passengers depicted in some of her oil paintings? These are questions which cannot be answered with certainty because of lack of direct evidence. Edward's movements can almost always be followed from his many surviving business letters. He was absent from his desk in Montreal for about three weeks only during the summer of 1862, but whether he was ill or on holiday is not known. Early that year he had met, and no doubt he and Frances had entertained, the Governor of Rupert's Land, Alexander Grant Dallas, who made his way from Montreal to Fort Garry *via* Georgetown. The circumstances in which Dallas returned to Montreal in 1863, and what he did on arrival, are not only interesting, but could be relevant.

Dallas left Red River Settlement on 10 June, and on arriving at Fort Alexander at the mouth of Winnipeg River, availed himself 'of two of the canoes from Canada' from among those that had transported inland 'the winterers for the Northern Department'. These two canoes were 'manned by the Voyageurs engaged as "Goers & Comers" for the trip, the canoes being strengthened by a few men taken from point to point, from the stations along the route'. Hopkins, who left Montreal on 16 June to meet Dallas, 'intended proceeding from Sault Ste Marie to Michipicoton in an open boat, but as the [mail] Steamer by which he went up from Collingwood was going direct to Fort William he decided on going to meet Mr Dallas there'. From Fort William Dallas and Hopkins went to Michipicoten where a temporary council for the Southern and Montreal Departments was held on 2 July. Then, probably because of news recently received from London, Dallas cancelled his original plan of continuing to Moose Factory and, still accompanied by Hopkins, followed the 'old canoe route' as far as 'Ottawa City (Bytown)', and from there continued 'by steam' to Montreal, where they arrived on 21 July.

The official record ends there but there is a postscript, provided by Edward Watkin, to this journey. It should be mentioned that in June 1863 the International Financial Society had acquired a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Company and that reorganization had followed very quickly. The new Board, on which Watkin had a seat, was set on enlarged objectives, and there was great anxiety among Company men, especially the Chief Factors and Chief Traders whose interests were tied to the fur trade. Watkin had 'rushed across the Atlantic' to try to allay fears and to report on the state and condition of the Red River Settlement. On meeting Dallas in Montreal their 'first act of "business" ', according to Watkin, was to make a trip in the Governor's canoe 'from Lachine through the rapids to Montreal'. But he omitted to say how they got to Lachine before continuing, 'a voyage to me, as almost a novice . . . of rather startling adventure; but the eleven stalwart Indians, almost all six feet high, who manned the boat, made the trip interesting. . . . These men made Caughna Wauga, opposite Lachine, their home, and there were their families'.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

'At Marquette 4 July, 1864' from a water-colour sketch.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

The presence of the woman and three men passengers in this canoe suggest that it might depict the descent of Lachine Rapids made by Governor Dallas, Edward Watkin, Edward Hopkins (who resemble the bearded passengers) and Frances on 25 July 1863. The original oil is not titled or dated. *(See note, page 17)*

Dallas, whose entries in his private diary (kindly provided by the owner, Mrs Doreen Briscoe of London, who is a granddaughter of Governor Dallas) only briefly record his movements, merely remarked that on Saturday, 25 July 1863, he went with Mr Watkin and Mr and Mrs Hopkins by rail to Lachine and that they returned to Montreal on the same day in canoes. This Saturday excursion is worth remembering when making a study of Frances' paintings. Dallas, who had sketched many scenes both in the Orient and North America, must have been interested in seeing her work on the several occasions he was entertained by her and Edward at their 'Côte des Neiges' home. Although she accompanied the party which Dallas took to Niagara Falls it is unlikely that she did anything more strenuous during the remainder of the summer of 1863 as she was already expecting her third child. And when Dallas returned to Red River *via* Toronto, Sarnia, Grand Haven and Milwaukee, Watkin was already in London. He had decided that the information he had obtained from Dallas and Hopkins made it unnecessary for him to go to Red River.

After inspecting the posts in the Gulf of St Lawrence during May 1864 and then going to Toronto to meet Governor Dallas, who was en route from Red River to Britain, Hopkins wrote to London from Montreal on 24 June saying that he proposed starting during the next week on a tour of inspection of 'the posts in Lake Superior, Lake Huron and the Ottawa districts', and that he expected to be away about a month. Her watercolour in the Public Archives of Canada entitled 'At Marquette' (on the Michigan shore of Lake Superior) and dated 4 July 1864 indicates that Frances accompanied her husband on this occasion and that they did not reach that point by the old canoe route. They were in Montreal again by 1 August and five days later sailed for England, Edward having obtained a brief leave of absence for the benefit of his health and for 'our family business'. They had returned to Montreal by the middle of November, but by the end of March of the following year were once more on their way to London. It appears that Hopkins wished to reply in person to the severe criticisms made by the Board on the business of the Montreal Department. While waiting for the Board 'to take up Montreal Dept. affairs' he managed to make a short visit to Brighton in Sussex, where his 'youngsters' were at school. It was during this 1865 visit that Edward's godson, Gerard Manley Hopkins, saw 'a certain amount' of Frances, but he does not seem to have cared for her so much as for her charming and good-looking elder sister, Aunt Kate, who had been widowed since 1862.

Edward and Frances arrived back in Montreal on 13 June. Her watercolour 'South Bolton from the Inn' dated 26 July 1865 (Public Archives of Canada) indicates that she made a visit, perhaps to Bolton in Ontario, but there are no sketches to suggest that she went with her husband that year on his inspection tour. On 7 August he reported to London that the Commander-in-Chief in North America (Sir John Michel) wished the Company to supply at the cost of Government, canoes and crews for himself, 'the Admiral on the station (Sir James Hope)

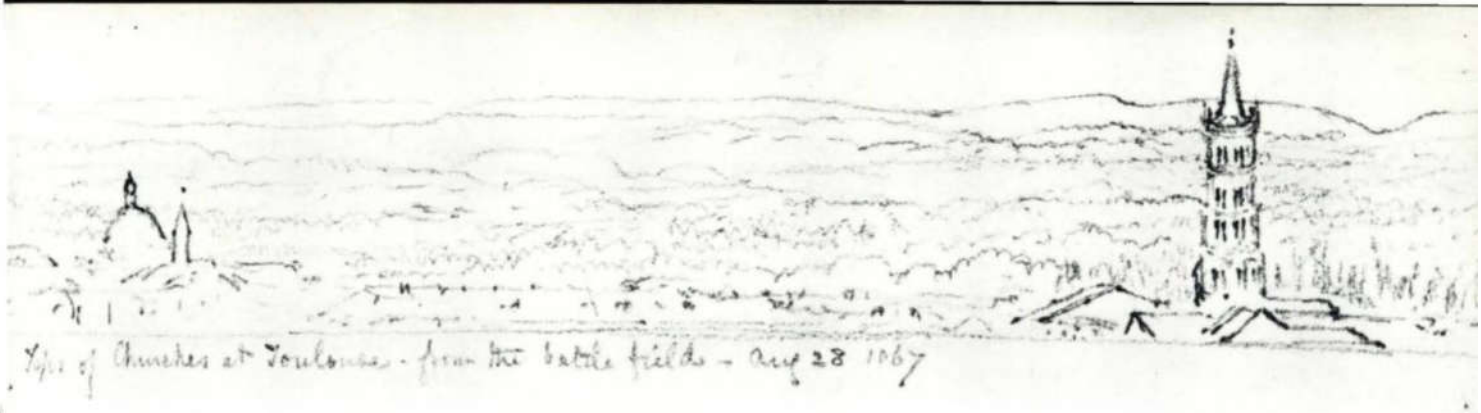
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

Watercolour 'From the Shrubbery Walk, 15 July 1865' may show the Hopkins' house at Côte des Neiges.

and staff to make a tour from Lake Huron, viâ the French River, Lake Nipissingue and the Matawa to the Ottawa' in order to survey 'the defences of Canada'. As Hopkins was thought to be the only person in Canada with knowledge of the route he was particularly requested to escort the party. Hopkins left immediately to inspect the Lake Superior posts and on his return met the military and naval party at Little Current near Lacloche in Lake Huron and travelled with them as far as Fort William (Lac des Allumettes). He then went to inspect the Company's post at Timiskaming (which had been transferred from the Southern to the Montreal Department in 1864) before returning to Montreal and reporting to London on 15 September.

On 21 September of the following year Hopkins reported to the Board in London that he had lately visited 'the Lake Superior, Lake Huron, Temiscamingue, and the Ottawa districts'. Frances' watercolour of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa (Royal Ontario Museum) and pencil drawings of 'Canoe men camping Sept. 7 1866' and 'Camp at Head of Chute des Arables 9 Sept. 1866' (Public Archives of Canada) are evidence enough that she accompanied her husband during part, if not all of his 1866 journey. The date of the 'Camp at Head of Chute des Arables' (*érables* - maples) indicates that the site was occupied towards the end of the inspection tour. So the sketch was most probably made at the second rapid on the Ottawa River above Mattawa. When describing these rapids for the Geological Survey of Canada towards the end of last century Alfred Ernest Barlow said that the first rapid, four miles above Mattawa and divided into two leaps, was then called La Cave, and the second, three and a half miles beyond, was known as Les Erables.

In 1867, the year of Confederation, Frances and Edward arrived in London at the end of June and stayed for a short while before going abroad on holiday. The only surviving evidence of that holiday is Edward's remark about needing £200 to take to France and his wife's pencil sketches of the 'Tops of Churches at Toulouse— from the battle fields—Aug. 28 1867' and 'Chateau des deux Etages à Mons. Dupuis Médoc—Sept. 1867' in the Public Archives of Canada. Before returning to Montreal in the following November they apparently moved into the house near Hyde Park which was to be their home for a number of years. Edward had retirement very much



In 1867 Edward and Frances took a holiday in France.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

on his mind. In February 1865, when learning that he had been elected a member of the Reform Club, he had written to a fellow member (Thomas Fraser, the Company's secretary), 'I am happy to know . . . that in the good time coming, when my term of expatriation is over, we may often meet & perchance dine together there'.

Hopkins spent three weeks in June 1868 inspecting the posts in the western part of his territory and then went to London. On 29 July he wrote to the Deputy Governor from 66 Great Cumberland Place, Hyde Park (the address given in the *Catalogues* from 1869, when Frances first exhibited at the Royal Academy, until 1874), expressing a wish to be relieved of his charge in Montreal at the end of May 1869. He added, 'the last division of profits [3 per cent. for the year] has alarmed me—my pay and allowance falling short of my expences. Montreal is an expensive station . . . I will return to Montreal in the autumn and the change in the management need not be carried out till next May'.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

'Rue St Dominique, Montreal', watercolour dated 11 July 1866.

Edward and Frances spent most of 1869 in Canada. Her first exhibit at the Royal Academy, the oil painting entitled 'Canoes in a fog, Lake Superior', was shown at the exhibition which opened on 3 May, but even if she was in London for that special occasion Edward was in Montreal carrying out his last official duties. At the end of the month he handed his charge to Chief Factor Donald A. Smith (later Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal) and so ended his official connection with the Hudson's Bay Company.

There are two scraps of information which suggest that some time during the weeks which followed Edward may have taken Frances into Rupert's Land. The first hint of such a journey is given in a 'very yellow and unidentified newspaper clipping' dated March 1870, produced from old files in The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts by the Registrar. This clipping reports the sixth exhibition of oil and watercolour paintings given by the Art Association of Montreal (the Museum's former name) on Tuesday night (3rd, 10th, 17th or 24th?) in the rooms of the Mercantile Library Building. Under the heading 'Water Colors' is the information, 'Mrs. E.M. Hopkins contributes a considerable number of magnificent watercolor sketches, taken by her on the spot, in Hudson Bay Territory'. The second scrap of information is the remark included in the diary entry made by Sir Stafford Northcote, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, on Sunday, 8 May 1870. Northcote, then in Montreal, recorded, 'Called on Mr. and Mrs. Hopkins in the afternoon. Her drawings of their journey to the North West last year are very interesting'. How far did they go, and how did they travel on this particular journey during which Hopkins had no business to transact for the Hudson's Bay Company? Frances' watercolours would no doubt provide some answers, but their whereabouts is not known.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

'Richmond Park' is the only known sketch dated 1869.

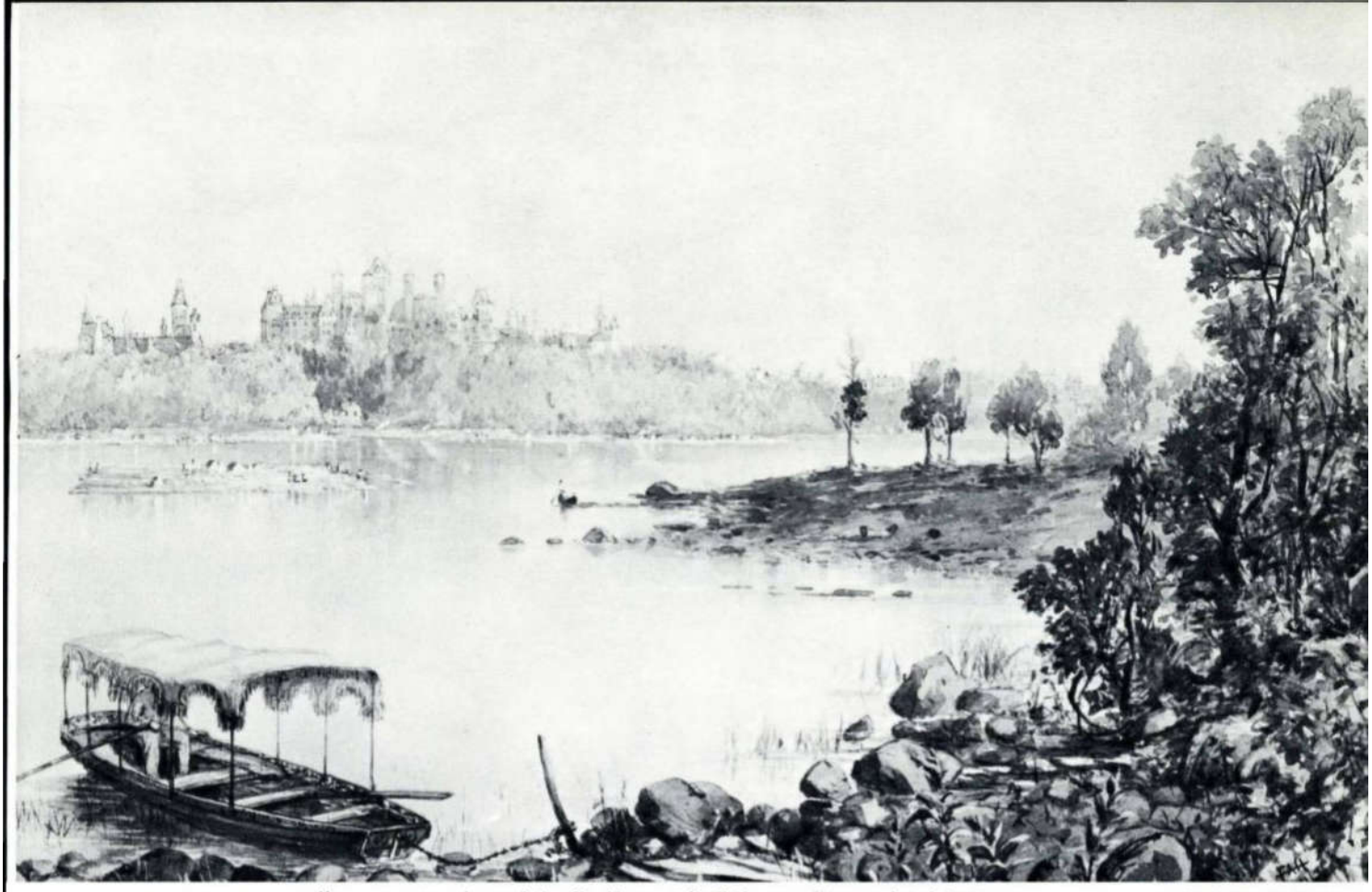
All that is certain is that towards the end of June 1869, when still in Montreal, Mr and Mrs Hopkins received a message from Colin Rankin sympathizing with them 'in their recent bereavement', and that on 21 July they were 'staying about six miles from the fort'—Fort William, Lake Superior. Almost a month later, during the evening of 18 August, 'Mr. & Mrs. Hopkins and party' left Lacloche, Lake Huron, 'on their way to Montreal by Nepissingue'. On this stage of their journey, at least as far as Pembroke, where they called on James S. Watt on 25 August, they must have travelled by canoe.

After their return to Montreal Edward was occupied for a time in making arrangements, satisfactory to himself though apparently not to Donald Smith, 'for the conduct of the "Private Cash" interests of the Gentlemen connected with the Service', during his forthcoming absence in England. This responsibility for investing the savings of men stationed inland and administering the estates of deceased employees had been inherited from Governor Simpson and must have proved rather onerous during the sixties when Hopkins, like many other cautious men, thought that 'Canada was . . . advancing a little too fast'. It was perhaps just before Edward and Frances sailed for England on 2 October that they gave the 'dress ball' which Gerard Manley Hopkins heard about later that month from a fellow inmate at Manressa House in Roehampton where, after conversion, he had become a Jesuit noviciate. On 20 November, not very long after their arrival in London, Frances sketched the scene in Richmond Park (Public Archives of Canada) which is, at present, her only known sketch dated 1869.

Hopkins tendered his resignation to the Deputy Governor from his London home on 17 January 1870, requesting that it should take effect as from 1 June following and that outfit 1869-70 should count as leave of absence, 'a favor commonly granted to retiring officers of long service'. Although the Committee had interpreted his request to be relieved of the charge of the Montreal office as resignation the matter was reconsidered and his requests were granted. This business being settled Edward and Frances left for Montreal at the end of January: they expected to return to England within three or four months.

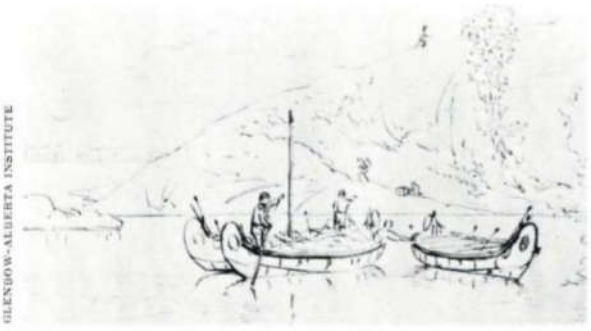
It has been said that Frances Hopkins was the only woman to accompany the force which was sent under the command of Colonel Garnet Wolseley (later Viscount Wolseley) from Toronto to Red River in the summer of 1870 for the purpose of dealing with Louis Riel and his followers, who were delaying the transfer of Rupert's Land from the British Government to the Dominion of Canada. Even if Frances had gone so far it could not be claimed that she was the only woman with the force because there was, in fact, one other. This lady, who 'pluckily accompanied her husband throughout the expedition' was named in *The Canadian Illustrated News* (18 November 1871, p. 323) as Kate St. John (née Ranoe), wife of the special correspondent of the Toronto *Globe*. Other published accounts of the expedition (including that in the issues of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* for December 1870, January and February 1871, of which Wolseley, in a letter to his brother, named himself as author) are silent on what was, after all, a minor detail. But Frances' oil painting in the Public Archives of Canada dated 1877 and entitled, 'Expedition to the Red River in 1870 under Sir Garnet Wolseley. Advanced Guard crossing a Portage' is evidence that she saw Wolseley's men at one stage at least of their toilsome journey. The inscription on the back of the canvas states, in part, that the picture was painted for Wolseley by Mrs Edward Hopkins and that Louisa, Dowager Viscountess Wolseley, presented it to the Dominion of Canada in 1917 in memory of her husband. In what circumstances was Frances Hopkins present at the scene she depicted, and was her husband there also?

Wolseley's surviving letters to his wife show that in April 1870, when she was staying with Mr and Mrs George Stephen (later Lord and Lady Mount Stephen) in Montreal, he was in Ottawa waiting for the Canadian Government to settle various matters concerning the expedition. Also in Ottawa, from 22 April to 5 May, but as guests of the Governor-General, Sir John Young, were Sir Stafford and Lady Northcote. Sir Stafford's diary and report to the Hudson's Bay Company's Committee in London show that he was closely watching the Company's interests at this very critical time. Unlike Wolseley he made no personal comments about the people he met. Of the Northcotes, 'a more dreary pair I never met', wrote the Colonel to his wife, and added, 'The Genl. [Lt. General the Hon. James Lindsay] tries to bring the Hopkins forward, but without effect'. Northcote's diary makes it clear that 'the Hopkins' were Edward and Frances. Edward 'our ex-agent at Montreal', called on Northcote on 24 April 'and talked over the prospects of the Company': before leaving he asked if he, the Governor, 'could not join Sir J. Young and Genl. Lindsay in their proposed excursion to the Red River, and said they were to go under his guidance. They should start about



From a watercolour of the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa dated 1866.

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM



GLENBOW-ALBERTA INSTITUTE

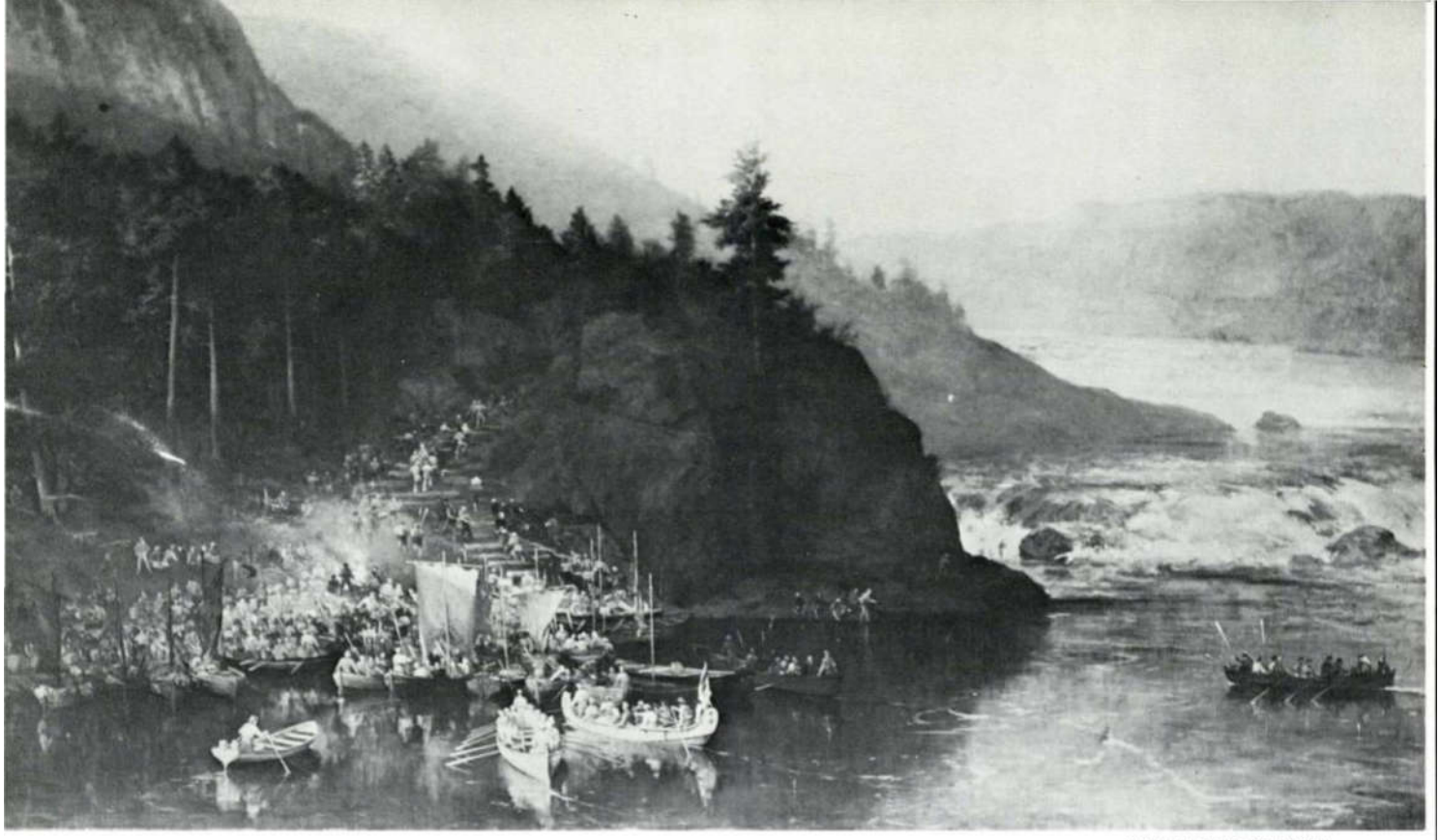
'Lake Superior', canoes and portage.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

Frances evidently accompanied her husband in 1866.

the 20th July and get back about the 20th September'. But Northcote obviously declined and, back in Montreal, Hopkins was among those who wished him *bon voyage* on 27 May.

Disappointed at not having been appointed Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, Wolseley left Collingwood for Thunder Bay at the western end of Lake Superior on 21 May. Some time during June Mrs Wolseley arrived at or near his camp at Prince Arthur's Landing (later Port Arthur and now Thunder Bay). In what circumstances was the visit arranged and in whose company did she cross Lake Superior? As her husband was fully occupied each day and could only see her during the evenings, she and her companions, one of whom must have been Frances Hopkins, undoubtedly made sightseeing trips around the neighbourhood. On the Kaministikwia River, about twenty-two miles from his camp, and on the route to Red River, was what Wolseley himself described in his *Blackwood's* article as, 'one of the most picturesque spots in North America'. This area, easily identified from his description as that of the Kakabeka Falls, was one he would obviously have wished his visitors to see. That they did so can be safely assumed not only from the timing of their visit to Prince Arthur's Landing, but be-



PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

The large oil 'Expedition to the Red River in 1870 . . . Advanced Guard crossing a Portage, F A H 1877' has a notation that it was painted for Colonel G. J. Wolseley, who is in the boat with the Union Jack, wearing a puggaree on his hat.

cause experts have identified the topography of Frances' oil painting of the 'Advanced Guard crossing a Portage' as that of the Lesser Kakabeka Falls on the Kaministikwia River. Where are the sketches she must have made on the spot? By 1 July Mrs Wolseley was returning to Montreal *via* Chicago and 'General Lindsay was one of the party'.

Except for the one reference quoted above, Wolseley made no other mention of 'the Hopkins' in his letters to his wife. Edward, as already stated, was in Montreal on 27 May, and five days later he officially retired from the Hudson's Bay Company. He arrived in London on 21 June on a very hurried visit, expecting to return to Canada during the following week, 'in order to accompany the Governor General, General Lindsay & some other officials to Red River', but this plan, already mentioned, was 'knocked on the head by the Imperial Government, who thought they ought not to be absent for so long from the seat of Government'. So, in the middle of July 1870, Edward settled his 'family' in a holiday cottage at Chipstead, near Sevenoaks in Kent, while he returned to Canada for two months. Perhaps the most definite information about Frances during 1870 is that her painting, 'Canoe travelling in the Backwoods of Canada' was shown at the Royal Academy exhibition which opened in London on 2 May, the entry in the *Catalogue* continuing, ' "Northward its prow was turned to the land of the bison and beaver. . . . Swiftly they glided along, close under the lee of the island." *Longfellow*'.

How Hopkins spent his retirement is not known. Frances continued to exhibit at the Royal Academy and no doubt elsewhere. According to the annotated *Catalogues* at Burlington House her exhibit in 1871 was entitled, 'Running a rapid on the Mattawa River, Canada', and that for 1872, 'Left to die', with the explanation, 'The Indians of the prairies when passing through an enemy's country on the "war path" are obliged to desert and leave to his fate any one of the party who, disabled by wounds or sickness, cannot travel on horseback at the pace necessary for safety'. Her next exhibit, in 1874, was a painting called 'Canadian voyageurs on Lake Superior starting at Sun-rise', but when she exhibited again in 1878 she had forsaken her Canadian subjects for a portrait of her son, Wilfred. By this time she and Edward were living at 3 Upper Berkeley Street, the address given in the *Catalogues* up to 1891. During this period her paintings shown at the Royal Academy were: 'See-saw' (1880), 'Relics of the primaeval forest: Canada' (1885), 'Autumn on the St. Lawrence, Canada: the first touch of frost on the maples' (1886), 'A siesta' (1890), and 'Mounting a rapid: autumn, Canada' (1891).

Eleven years were to pass before Frances next had an exhibit at the Royal Academy. Her work was probably

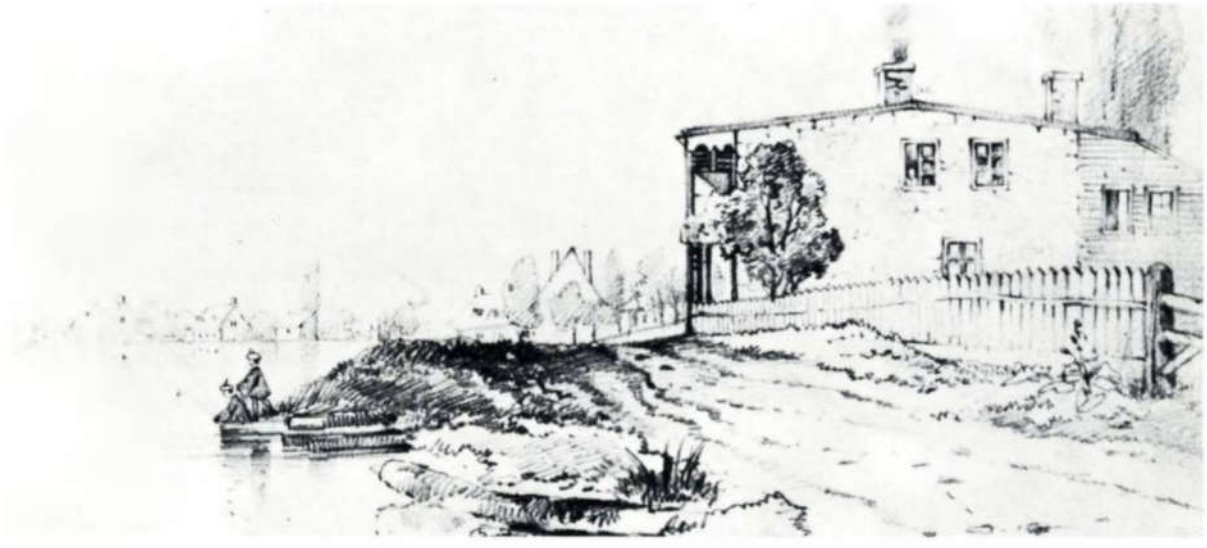
shown elsewhere, but more research must be undertaken to settle this point. According to Algernon Graves, compiler of *A Dictionary of Artists who have exhibited works in the Principal London Exhibitions From 1760 to 1893* (London, 1895) p. 143, Frances had shown her work between 1860 and 1891 eleven times at the Royal Academy (where one condition of acceptance was that pictures should not have been previously publicly exhibited in London), four times at Suffolk Street (Royal Society of British Artists) and at seventy 'Various Exhibitions'.

As far back as 1861 Hopkins had said that he would willingly give up town life and cares for a country home in England, but this wish was apparently not fulfilled until about 1891 when he moved to Orchard Dene at Henley-on-Thames in Oxfordshire, where he died on 20 April 1893. His children named as beneficiaries in his will made eight years previously were, Edward Gouverneur Ogden Hopkins, Manley Ogden Hopkins (Captain, Royal Artillery), Olive Beechey Hopkins, Wilfred Beechey Hopkins, and Raymond Beechey Hopkins.

When Frances' painting of the Prince of Wales' visit to Lachine, already referred to, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1902 she was living at 95 Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead. The next time she exhibited at the Academy was in 1918; her picture was entitled, 'Approach to a Village in France'. Before another year had passed, on 5 March 1919, 'Frances Anne, widow of Edward Martin Hopkins of Montreal, daughter of Admiral Beechey and granddaughter of Sir William Beechey, R.A.' died aged eighty-three, and according to the *Hampstead and Highgate Express*, the funeral took place at Golder's Green Crematorium three days later. Mrs. Hopkins had outlived not only her husband but two of her children. Wilfred died before July 1910, leaving a widow and a son; and Olive, wife of Harold Baily Dixon, a distinguished Professor of Chemistry, died in 1917 leaving a son and daughter. Her son, Raymond, had settled 'in British East Africa' before 1914, so it was to her granddaughter, Phyllis Dixon (later Mrs. Ronald Barker), that Mrs. Frances Hopkins confided her wishes regarding the disposal of her furniture, pictures, and other property, except money, at her death. ◆

BOTH ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

'Our house at Lachine 1859' Manley and Ogden fishing, and 'Our veranda', the only work that identifies Edward.



POSTSCRIPT: Since going to press a note from Governor Dallas's daughter Cecilia has come to light in which she speaks of going to children's parties in Mrs Hopkins' beautiful studio in Berkeley Street and her father sitting for Mrs Hopkins 'to put in a large picture of canoes going down the rapids' where he is in a canoe. Ed.

WORKS OF FRANCES ANNE HOPKINS

Exhibits in London to 1891, from Algernon Graves *A Dictionary of Artists who have exhibited works in the Principal London Exhibitions from 1760 to 1893* (London, 1895) where Mrs Hopkins' speciality is noted as 'Canadian scenery':

Royal Academy: 11 times
Suffolk Street [Royal Society of British Artists]: 4 times
Various Exhibitions: 70 times

Royal Academy exhibits, from Algernon Graves *The Royal Academy of Arts A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904* (London, 1906) and 'Extension of Graves in the Library of the Royal Academy'. It was specified that the works must not have been publicly exhibited in London nor be 'copies of any kind':

1869 **Canoes in a fog—Lake Superior.**

1870 **Canoe travelling in the Backwoods of Canada.**

'Northward its prow was turned etc.' Longfellow. [*In annotated catalogue: 'Northward its prow was turned to the land of the bison and beaver . . . Swiftly they glided along, close under the lee of the island.'*]

1871 **Running a rapid on the Mattawa River, Canada.**

1872 **Left to die**

The Indians of the prairies when passing through an enemy's country on the 'war path' are obliged to desert and leave to his fate any one of the party who, disabled by wounds or sickness, cannot travel on horseback at the pace necessary for safety.

1874 **Canadian Voyageurs on Lake Superior starting at Sun-rise.**

1878 **Wilfred Hopkins.**

1880 **See-saw.**

1885 **Relics of the primaeval forest: Canada.**

1886 **Autumn on the St. Lawrence, Canada; the first touch of frost on the maples.**

1890 **A siesta.**

1891 **Mounting a rapid, autumn, Canada.**

1902 **The visit of the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII) to Lachine Rapids, Canada, in 1860.'**

1918 **Approach to a village in France.**

KNOWN WORKS OF FRANCES ANNE HOPKINS IN CANADIAN COLLECTIONS

Titles by Frances Hopkins are shown; descriptions in brackets have been given later to untitled works. Sizes are given in inches, vertical then horizontal.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

FRAMED OIL PAINTINGS

(Canoe with passengers, paddling alongside high rocky cliffs).
1869(?). 29 x 59¾.

(Canoe party round camp fire at night).
FAH. 35½ x 59¾.

(Bivouac of canoe party, overturned canoes for shelter).
FAH 1871. 29 x 59½.

(Large canoe, with four passengers, running rapids).
FAH. 36 x 59¾.

Expedition to the Red River in 1870 under Sir Garnet Wolseley. Advanced Guard crossing a Portage.
FAH 1877. 36 x 60.

An inscription in ink on the back of the canvas reads: 'This picture represents a portage on the "Red River Expedition" commanded by Colonel G. J. Wolsely [sic] (afterwards F.M. Viscount Wolsely). It was painted for him by Mrs Edward Hopkins. Colonel Wolsely is on a very low seat in the boat with Union Jack and has a puggaree on his hat. Louisa, Dowager Viscountess Wolsely presented it to the Dominion of Canada in 1917, in memory of her husband.'

SKETCHBOOK, WATERCOLOUR AND PENCIL. 5½ x 8.

WATERCOLOURS

11th July, Gateway Côte des Neiges.
15 July 1865. From the Shrubbery Walk.
4 Aug. 1865. Front Lawn.
Ile d'Orvale. 1866.
Priest meditating, Ottawa River. 18 July 1866.
Near the Yacht Club, Lachine. FAH 1866.
Rue St. Dominique, Montreal. FAH 11 July 1866.
On the Lachine road. FAH July 1866.
Our marquee on Ile d'Orvale.

PENCIL DRAWINGS

Canoe men camping. Sept. 7, 1866.
Camp at Head of Chute des Arables. Sept. 9, 1866.
Tops of Churches at Toulouse—from the battle fields. Aug. 28, 1867.
Chateau des deux Etages a Mons. Dupuis Medoc. Sept. 1867.
Sketch in Richmond Park. Nov. 20, 1869.
No title.

WATERCOLOUR ALBUM. 8¼ x 12.

(Portrait of a child)
5⅛ x 3⅝.

Children with toboggan driven by dog.
FAH 1858-9. 3⅛ x 6¾.

Canadian Habitant in Winter.
FAH. 5 x 4⅛.

(Winter scene on river front).
3¼ x 7¼.

South Bolton from the Inn.
FAH 26 July 1865. 7½ diameter.

At Marquette.
4 July 1864. 8 x 14.

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.
FAH 1866. Watercolour, gouache, black pencil. 11¾ x 17¾.
On reverse of original mount was written: 'Parliament House, Ottawa, Canada, by Mrs Hopkins. Bought by H.R.L.N. 1866'. (This most probably refers to Major Henry Richard Legge Newdigate of the Prince Consort's Own Rifle Brigade.)

Tobogganing at Lachine.
FAH. Watercolour, gouache, black pencil. 9⅛ x 19⅞.
On reverse: 'The "Family Coach" coming to grief' and 'Mr Swaine (pair 8 guineas)'.

Raft on the St Lawrence.
FAH. Watercolour and gouache on pink paper. 16⅝ x 20⅜.

The Explorer's Camp.
FAH. Watercolour. 10⅝ x 12¼.
On reverse of old frame: 'This watercolour and its companion piece [Tracking the Rapids] were done in Canada and presented to Sir William Collier, KCVO, CB, July 1891.

Tracking the Rapids.
FAH. Watercolour, gouache, pencil. 10½ x 12½.
An old label described this as 'York Boat Ascending the Mackenzie River' but the craft is a canoe and location of the river is uncertain, possibly one in the Port Arthur region. (It is reproduced on the cover of this magazine.)

Lake Superior (canoes in a fog).
Oil on canvas. 24½ x 40.

SKETCHBOOK 1859-1860

A canvas covered book with leather corners, approximately 6 x 10 inches, inscribed in centre of fly-leaf in pencil 'Frances A. Beechey February 1st 1858 from Mamma' and in upper left in a different hand, similar to the notes on Frances Hopkins' sketches, 'This book to be given to Manley'. Of the 36 sketches, in pencil or pen-and ink or wash, the following are identified by Frances Hopkins:

Part of Lachine from Caughnawga, 24 May 1859

Our House at Lachine, 1859. Manley Ogden.

Our Veranda at Lachine, 1859. E.M.H.

Sir George Simpson's House on Ile D'Orvale, 1859—since burnt down.

Ile D'Orvale.

Ile D'Orvale. Sepia wash.

On L'Ile d'Orvale, August 1859. Manley Ogden. Blue wash.
Manley and Ogden were two of Edward's sons.

Our Garden, Lachine.

St. Lawrence, 13 Aug. 59—Caughnawa. Sepia wash.

13 Aug. 1859.

Ogden Manley in front of our house Lachine, 19 Aug 1859. Sepia wash.

Montmorency Aug. 20 1859.

Near Three Rivers.

Part of Three Rivers, Sept. 5, 1859.

Going to meet Gouverneur at the Train. View close to our house Lachine, Sept. 18, 1859. Grey wash.
Edward Gouverneur Ogden Hopkins was a step-son.

Breaking up of the ice in Spring.

The Cricket Ground—Montreal—Sept. 26, 1859.

St. Lawrence River Sept. 1859. Sepia wash.

Turning to 'the Switch' Lachine Nov. 1859.

M.O.H. Looking Down the Ottawa from Carillon—May 16, 1860.

'Going to meet Gouverneur at the train Sept 18 1859'. Detail from F. A. Hopkins' sketchbook in the R.O.M.

L'Ile d'Orvale May, 1860.

June 12, 1860 Montreal Mountain from Indian side.

Sketch taken from the only Ruin(?) in Canada. July 23, 1860.

July 23, 1860.

Canoes waiting for the Prince of Wales.

Off L'Ile D'Orvale. Watercolour.

Ile D'Orvale.

April 23.

GLENBOW-ALBERTA INSTITUTE

Canoes in a Fog, Lake Superior.
FAH 1869. Oil, 27 x 48.

(Study for Canoes in a Fog, Lake Superior).
FAH Watercolour 4 x 8⅞.

Lake Superior (I-three canoes near a portage).
Pen and ink 7½ x 11.

Lake Superior (II-man fishing from boat).
Pen and ink. 8½ x 11¼.

Canoe on a Lake.
Colour pastel on cardboard. 9¾ x 13½.

Canadian Autumn.
Oil. 28 x 42.

THE BIBLE IN PICTURE WRITING

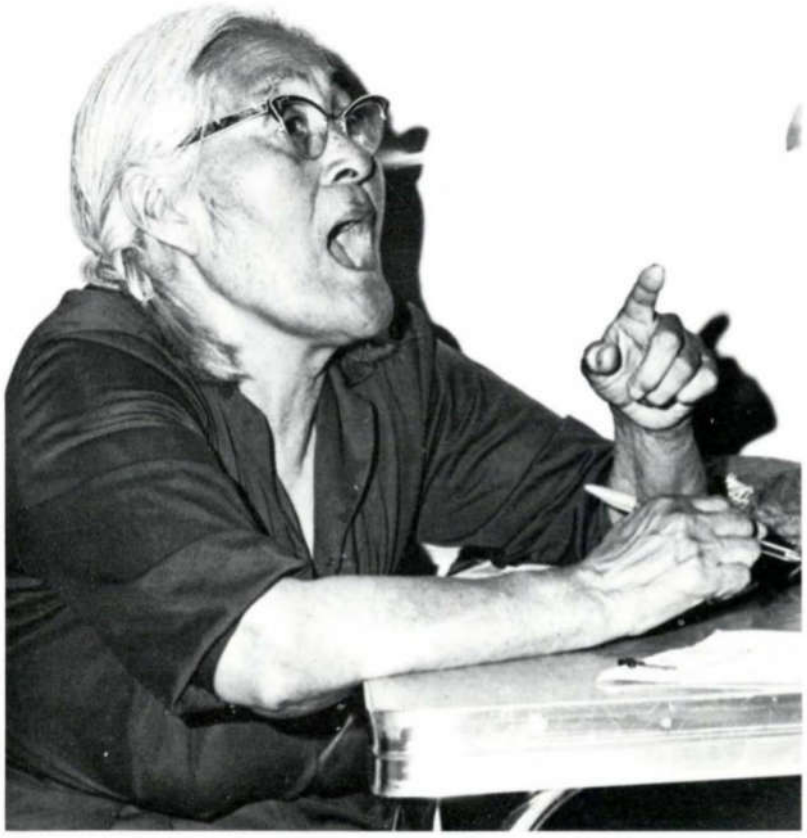
by Dorothy Jean Ray

CHRISTIANITY came to northern Alaska in the 1890s and was enthusiastically adopted by Eskimos whose old religion held little of the great hopes and dreams of the new. The Bible especially revealed the proper course toward a life free of burdens and pain, and families travelled long distances to hear it read aloud. After a time, the older people who could not read nor write, needed a way to remember the new verses.

Eskimos of the Kotzebue Sound region were indebted to native missionaries, Koliraq Ruth Ekak (or Egak) and her daughter, Lily Ekak Savok (born Tusagovik in 1893) for inventing a pictographic writing system. Eskimos of this area had been familiar with engravings and drawings of realistic subjects on ivory and paper for many decades, but the Ekaks' effort was unique in that the pictures were graphic translations of set and unalterable written phrases of a foreign language. They did not know that they had embarked on the sophisticated procedure of replacing one symbol with another.

I had seen examples of this picture writing in 'The Alaskan Natives,' a survey report, by H. Dewey Anderson and W. C. Eells (1935) who said it had developed during the previous decade, but there was no explanation of the illustrated symbols. I had supposed that the writing and its interpretations would have been forgotten by mid-twentieth century, but to my surprise in 1964, Lily, who had retired in Nome with her husband, John Savok, told me that she and her mother had originated the writing, and showed me several of her mother's 'practice books,' tiny notebooks of faded lined tablet paper sewed together with cotton string. Although most of the drawings were identified by chapter and verse, the symbols themselves, of course, were not explained. I could not spend time then on unravelling meanings of the symbols, which were considerably more complicated than I had anticipated, but I did so during the summer of 1968.

Shortly after my arrival in Nome in 1968, I learned that Lily was attending a Quaker Conference in Kotzebue, so I flew on to Kotzebue, fearing she might elude me since old Eskimo ladies are exceptionally peripatetic in summer, going long distances to pick berries, to see a new grandchild, or for almost any other reason. Lily was recovering from a stroke, and our long sessions (several thereafter in Nome) tired her considerably, but we kept on because she knew how eager I was to make a permanent record of a unique and almost forgotten chapter in Eskimo education. At times we were helped by her daughter, Ruth Outwater, also a missionary, and her daughter-in-law, Gladys



JIM RICHARDSON

Mrs Lily Savok explains the meaning of various symbols and drawings to anthropologist Dorothy Jean Ray, a leading authority on the culture and history of the Alaskan Eskimos. On the right are selected symbols from the Buckland picture writing. Quotation marks enclose Mrs Savok's verbatim explanations.

Angel: a feather.

In the morning: 'uvlami, sun is coming up, so it is in the morning.'

Soul: 'it has no arms'.

Into: first letter of the English word.

Lowliness: 'the world is lower than heaven'.

Marvellous: 'the eye has an astonished look'.

Life: man. The same figure on a horizontal means 'to raise up'.

Meekness: 'because the middle is lower than the ends'.

Devil, Satan: Eskimo medicine man.

Greatly: a large circle, 'a symbol for weight'. This also stands for world.

Love: 'the person has pity on the little one'. Used also for 'charity'.

Reward: a hook 'because the word meaning hook sounds like it'.

Holy Spirit: cross enclosed by a circle which means 'Jesus within'.

Cometh: 'going that way and come back'.

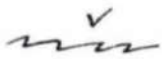
Good: an apple, because it is naguruk, or good'.

Height: 'Mama's [Ruth Ekak's] idea to put a pole up to the sky'. Symbol also means Heaven.

Depth: drawn opposite of height.

Trust: 'leaning on a pole'.

Justification: bow and arrow 'because the Eskimo word meaning hit the target sounds almost like it'.



Shall not be moved: undulating line means movement: check mark makes it negative.

Words or speaketh: a tongue, 'because tongue and talk are the same in Eskimo'.

Saccheus Savok, the wife of Lily's missionary son, Fred.

Though Lily confirmed my suspicions that picture writing was a thing of the distant past ('I haven't seen anyone using this shorthand for many, many years,' she said) she still could explain the meanings behind most of the symbols. Lily drew the pictures for me with blunt pencils although she uses pen and ink or ballpoint pen for writing Eskimo and English script. She did not strive for artistic perfection, and often retraced strokes already made. It was the meaning that counted. Both Lily and her mother used pencils for drawing; the accompanying illustrations are inked copies of the originals.

Lily is a literate and eloquent woman who draws from a large supply of oratorical devices to convey her deepest convictions, particularly about her religious beliefs and correct pronunciation of Eskimo words. As we worked on translations and identification of symbols, she often remarked that I was taking her back to an early life; and to be sure her world was different from that of fifty years before when she drew her first little pictures. So far as Lily could recall, the pictures began to take shape about 1914 when her father wanted to memorize favourite passages like the Lord's Prayer and the Twenty-third Psalm. Lily was a member of the California Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers) although her father had taken her from their home on the Buckland River 150 miles away to the Swedish Covenant mission in Unalakleet for an education when she was only seven years old. In those days, Eskimos usually learned verses in their own language, but occasionally in English, without understanding the words. The older people found this frustrating, and finally, Lily, a precocious interpreter, said to her father, 'All right, ahpang, let's try to write so you remember,' and she began with 'The Lord is my shepherd':

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

Thou (man points to another) **shalt have no other gods** ('God is a cross beneath a rainbow'; check mark makes it negative) **before** (last symbol, 'the front end of a boat') **me** (oval enclosing dot, 'in this world', 'in the mind' or 'me'. Phrase 'Agayutiqago' means roughly 'God in mind'; therefore symbol for me follows symbol for God).
Thou shalt not make ('making parka, or image', negative check mark) **any graven image** (parallel lines mean 'a likeness') **and bow thyself to them.** (a man bowing; negative check mark).
Thou shalt not take (hand shown 'in strong taking hold') **the name** ('In Eskimo, when coming down stairway, same word as name') **of thy God in vain** ('a dishpan but the check mark means 'take it away', so it is an empty vessel, or 'in vain.').
Remember (first two letters of 'itkagaluwu' or remember) **the sabbath** (sitting figure is resting) **day** (nest in tree, a word that sounds similar to 'day' in Eskimo) **to keep it** (first letters of 'kaunayilago' or 'keep it') **holy** (arbitrary symbol. 'This was my mother's own symbol').
Honour ('Just a symbol') **thy father** (man) **and thy mother** (woman wearing parka with hood).
Thou shalt not kill (post-European grave. Also the symbol for death).
Thou shalt not commit adultery ('This is a symbol for life, only in a rough way').
Thou shalt not steal (box indicates treasure; negative check mark 'take it away, makes it not').
Thou shalt not bear false witness (mouth speaking) **against thy neighbour** (a non-native dwelling, the kind in which almost every Alaskan Eskimo lives today).
Thou shalt not covet anything that is ('sic' reminder for the Eskimo phrase 'siknatiyuminaichin') **thy neighbour's** (a house, with negative check mark).

Her mother, a medicine man's daughter, invented many of the symbols, which she taught to people in various villages. The picture writing was eagerly received wherever she went, and in time, two general styles—from the villages of Buckland and Kotzebue—emerged. Mrs Ekak took the Buckland version, used here, to Koyuk on the northern shore of Norton Sound, its farthest south limit. The writing had a widespread usage in the whole Kotzebue Sound area, however, as long as the old people who had learnt it were still living.

No entire chapter or book of the Bible was transcribed into the picture writing even at its peak when favourite verses were exchanged by friends and used in church as a guide to oral readings of the scriptures. The writing was based on the Eskimo language, yet all principal words and many auxiliary words of the English sentences had pictographic counterparts. Well-established symbols were sometimes omitted if surrounding symbols accurately portrayed the meaning.

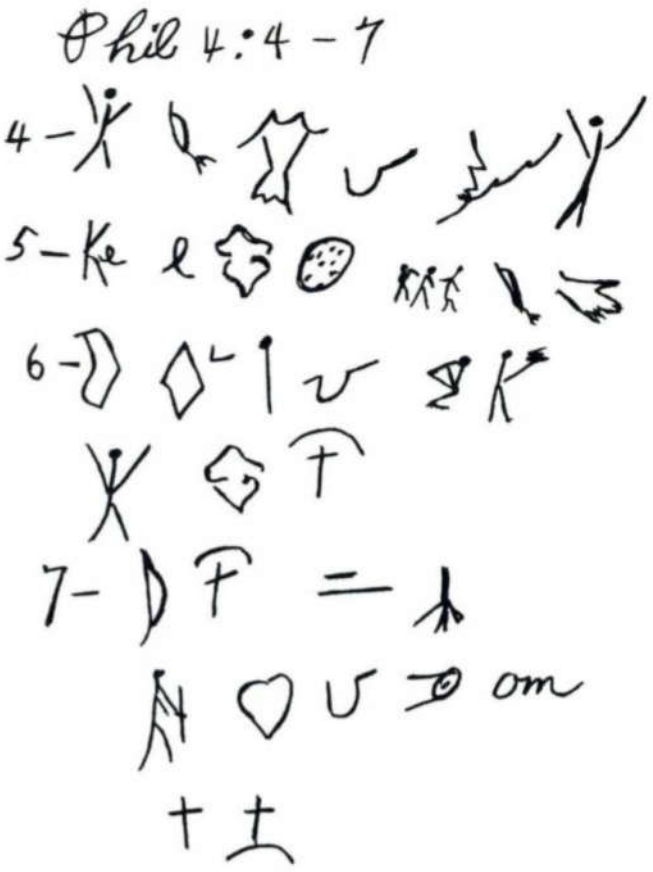
Lily and her mother used many kinds of symbols without any attempt to systematize the over-all pictography. Most symbols fit into one of nine categories, but occasionally a symbol slips into more than one. The categories are rebus, metonymy, synecdoche, action figures, realistic forms, schematic diagrams, mnemonic motifs, mnemonic letters, and Christian symbols.

One of the most commonly used symbol was a rebus, or a picture of a word that represents another word with a similar sound: for example, a picture of a nest meant 'day' because nest and day sound almost alike in Eskimo, and 'reward' was a drawing of a hook because of the similarity of hook and reward.

Metonymy and synecdoche are literary devices called tropes, and although it is sometimes difficult to draw the

line between the two, metonymy, for our purpose here, is a characteristic of an object used to represent a word with comparable attributes, and synecdoche is a drawing of part of an object to represent a whole. Thus (under metonymy), 'in vain' was represented by the drawing of an empty dishpan; and 'marvellous', by the drawing of an eye because the eye 'has an astonished look' (but 'sight' was shown by a pair of spectacles). The drawing of a net to mean 'saved' or 'salvation' probably fits here, also, although the reference is not to direct rescue as in a fireman's net, but to indirect rescue by nets used to catch fish during periods of starvation in the old days. Synecdoche was used less often than metonymy in their writing. In the verses reproduced here, only 'angel' shown by a feather falls into this class. It is, however, really double synecdoche, for the feather represents a wing, which in turn represents an angel.

Action figures and realistic forms were the only outlines that had any relationship to realistic ivory engravings of the nineteenth century. These outlines more or less conveyed direct meaning, although some of them are metonymic in principle. Samples of action figures are 'rejoice' (the man is happy), 'supplication' (a man in a bowed position), and 'love' (a figure bending over a small object). Realistic forms include the drawing for a hand, which meant hand; several stick figures that meant more than one man, or men; and a heart, meaning heart, although this conventionalized non-native symbol would not have been used in aboriginal drawings.



Mrs Savok's favourite passage from the Bible is Philippians 4:4-7. The symbols were traced from her pencil copy made in Nome, Alaska in July 1968. The Eskimo translation is transcribed from her handwritten copy in English script.

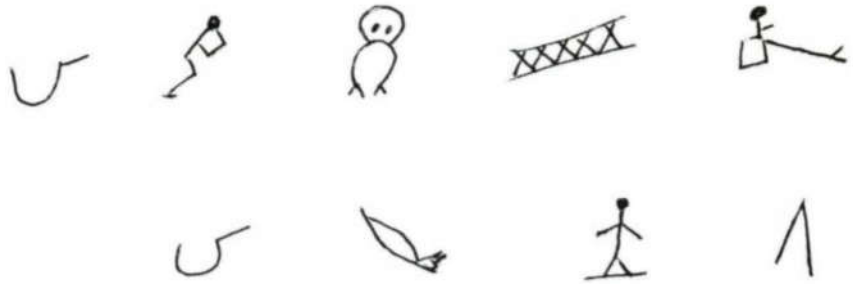
Koviasogin sungeroadkon utermaik: solee niplit-kik-soonga Koviasogin.
Rejoice (the man 'is happy') **in the Lord** (biceps) **always** (dress 'because the word dress sounds like it in Eskimo') **and** (a 'dipper of soup sounds like and') **again I say** (mouth or face, 'nipluqsuq, or make a sound') **rejoice.**

Kee keeniknukteeroong agangilin elokinon enung-noon. Uton sungeeroak etook ar-ga-ngnee.
Let your moderation ('symbols to remember keeniknukteeroong') **be known** (sealskin. 'A white pretty sealskin in winter, naleq, is similar to nalungichiga, to know') **unto all** (dots enclosed by circle mean 'lots of things together' or all) **men** (several men) **the Lord is at hand** (drawing of a hand).

Isumalo-yang i gion: ksimi sopayak Aga u likon solee pika-golikoon topiklogo koyan-mik kee peegeesookan eleecho-gik-kaa-goong.
Be careful ('just a symbol') **for nothing** ('a diamond is precious; check means take away and there is nothing') **but in everything by prayer** (prayer sounds almost like pencil in Eskimo) **and supplication** (man kneeling) **with thanksgiving** (man holds goods for which he is thankful) **let your requests** (man beseeching from heaven) **be made known** (sealskin) **unto God** (God is cross beneath rainbow).

Ovalee keenwenum Agertum kangeemateroam elooknin kungiksitmin, kownageseega Omatim solee esoomatin omoona Christ Jesus.
And the peace (dipper is not used for Eskimo translation is ovalee, meaning 'so that' instead of and. 'The words bow (keluinuq) and peace (kiuniuq) sound almost alike in Eskimo') **of God which passeth** ('the bottom line passes the top line') **all understanding** (symbol for understanding is roots of a tree) **shall keep** (shepherd with staff 'keeping his flock') **your hearts** (Mrs Savok had memorized this word as singular and therefore used only one heart) **and minds** ('in Eskimo, end of a log also means mind') **through** ('Om is a reminder for omoona') **Christ** (a cross) **Jesus** (cross placed into the earth).

These drawings of part of James 5:15 are a freehand copy of a much smaller sample drawn by Mrs Savok.



And ('a dipper of soup, which in Eskimo sounds almost like and') **the prayer** (a man praying) **of faith** (an owl 'because owl in Eskimo is okpik and faith is okpek') **shall save** ('net saved Eskimos in famine time by getting fish') **the sick** (a sick man—this symbol is also used for 'suffereth') **and the Lord** (an arm and hand represent the Lord. 'Biceps represent power or the Lord'. The symbol also means powers.) **shall raise** (the phrase, shall raise up, is indicated by a man 'standing up straight on a foundation') **him up** ('just a symbol for him').

The schematic diagrams are unusually imaginative, and each one has to be explained separately. They, too, are metonymic in character. 'Height', 'depth', 'meekness', and 'passeth', fall into this classification. A pole is drawn to a curved sky to represent height; depth is the opposite. In meekness, the centre of the oblong object is lower than the sides, and, in passeth, the bottom line passes the top line.

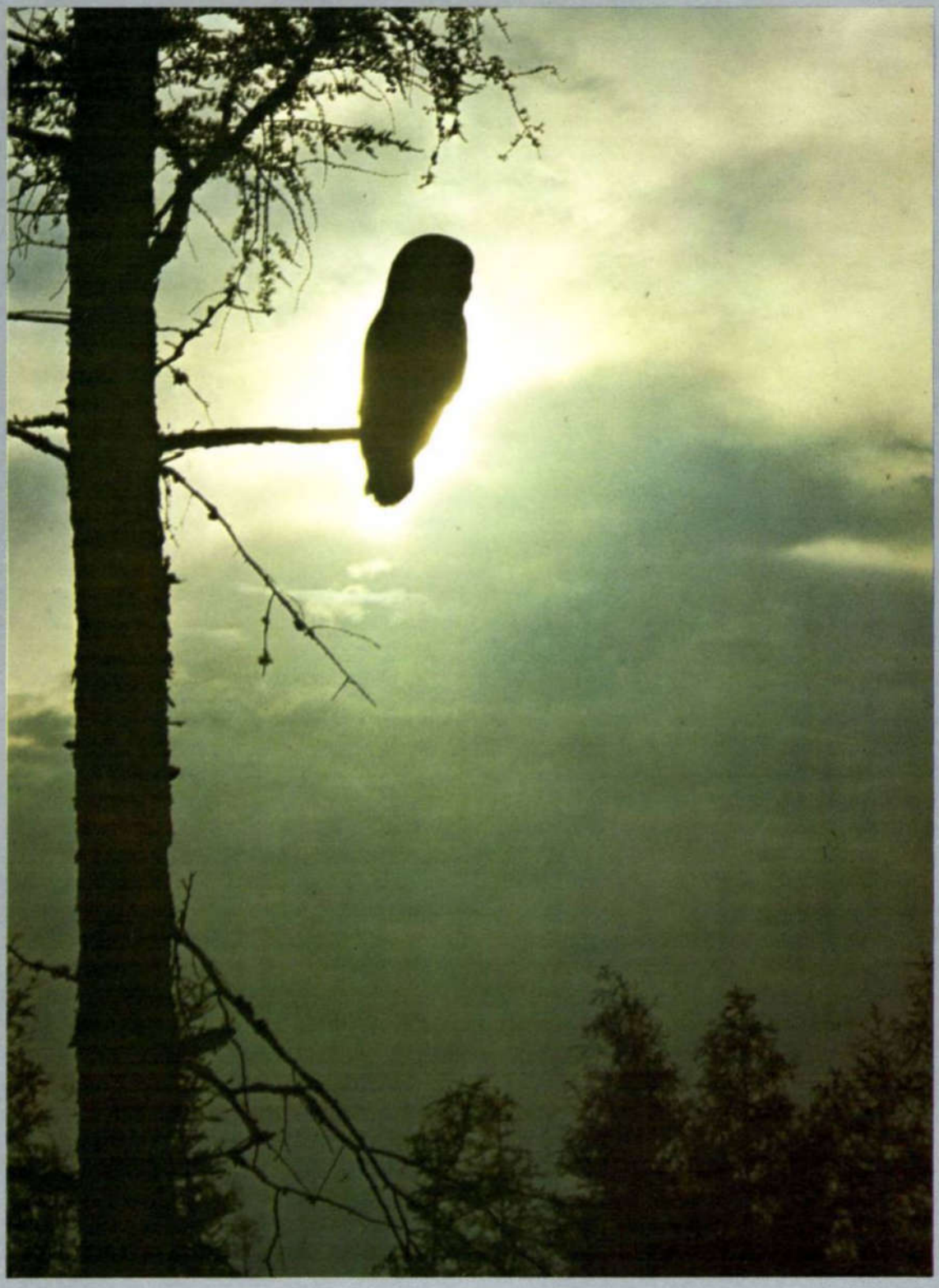
When all else failed, the Ekaks resorted to two kinds of mnemonic symbols—or memory devices—for words and phrases. They used abstract motifs for certain words like honour, him, or 'be careful'; and first letters of Eskimo phrases written in English script.

Finally, they used Christian symbols, particularly the cross, when referring to various holy figures. The devil, however, was drawn in the likeness of a human face with horns as illustrated in certain printed religious tracts, or as a drawing of an angakok, or medicine man, who, in the eyes of the new religion, was an undesirable character.

After Lily had told me with regret that she was no longer needed to interpret and that picture writing was ancient history because 'almost everyone reads and writes English' even where church services are conducted in Eskimo, she saw a Shishmaref woman 'reading' some drawings at the Kotzebue conference. With dismay she reported this unusual event to me saying, 'I see it has spread even farther than I thought. It was their own [writing], and I tried to copy it for Dorothy, but I couldn't read it.' (I could not pursue this further, so I am uncertain whether anyone else uses picture writing in the Shishmaref area, which is 110 miles southwest of Kotzebue near the Bering Strait. Mrs Savok was justifiably surprised because she usually knows what is going on throughout a large area. Today's excellent air service draws villages close together, and visitors constantly stream into Nome and Kotzebue.)

Lily was also surprised to learn that a picture writing similar in concept, but not in symbols, had been invented in 1887 on the Kuskokwin River near Bethel by Uyakak, or Helper Neck, a Moravian convert and son of a medicine man. (Bethel is more than 350 miles south of Buckland in a different language area.) Helper Neck also became an enthusiastic missionary, but apparently reserved his writing to excite and astonish his fellow Eskimos when he 'read' from the Bible. Lily and her mother had neither seen nor heard of this writing, and there is no stylistic relationship between the two systems, which seem to be independent solutions to a common problem.

The drawing of pictures for trading purposes among unlettered Eskimos was also a standard practice toward the end of the nineteenth century in northern Alaska, but none was done with the imagination of the Buckland writing, which, though graphically simple, was conceptually complicated. The Buckland verses are interesting constructions of design even without interpreting the meanings, but the subtle imagery of the various symbols makes this pictography more than a visual art. It is visual poetry that perceives the universe from the vantage of two cultures, written by those who had accepted a large part of the new, yet had kept an even greater part of the old. ◆



SPIRIT OF THE BOREAL FOREST

25 / Autumn 1971

SPIRIT OF THE BOREAL FOREST: THE GREAT GRAY OWL

by Robert W. Nero with photographs by Robert R. Taylor

NO ONE SEEMS to know if Grey Owl, that semi-mystical Englishman-turned-Indian who carried woodland lore into Eastern Canadian mansions, took his name from the Great Gray Owl, but it would be fitting if he had. Of all the birds of the northern coniferous forest, this one, more than any other, seems imbued with a mysterious aura. Found chiefly in remote portions of the deep forest, where it is a permanent resident, the Great Gray Owl, *Strix nebulosa*, occasionally wanders southward to settled, wooded areas where it is so tame as to appear foolish. Alas, it is man who is the more foolish, shooting it as it dozes in the sun, perched on tree or post. It is probably the thoughtless gunner who has reduced its numbers and who keeps it from repopulating settled lands. Though it is the largest of all the owls, with a wingspread of five feet, it feeds almost entirely on tiny shrews and small rodents. Its bulky form partly results from the large mass of loose feathers which provide it with insulation against the severe cold of subarctic winters. It is well adapted to spending the winter in its home range, but when the local mouse and vole populations are low it becomes a nomad, moving to wherever it can find food. One year it may be present in some numbers, the next year, driven by hunger, it is far away in new woods.

Probably no other bird that nests within the Boreal Forest of North America has been seen by so few observers, for it is the rarest of all the owls. How rare is it? No one really knows. It occupies a vast range, being resident across the northern coniferous forest belt of North America and Eurasia, but everywhere it is regarded as a rare bird. It nests to the northern edge of the forest in Alaska and Canada, and south in the montane forests to California, Idaho, and Montana. Records of nests in Canada are scarce, only a few having been found over the large area that it inhabits. The nest found by Sir John Richardson at Great Bear Lake on 23 May 1826 is apparently the first nest recorded in North America. There appear to be no nest records for Quebec, one or two nests are known for Ontario, four have been found in Manitoba, and only one is known for Saskatchewan. In Alberta, a number of nests have been found in the past, but local ornithologists now consider this bird 'very close to being exterminated'. Fortunate, indeed, are those bird watchers who are privileged to observe this bird at its nest. Recently, two active nests were observed, one at The Pas, Manitoba, in 1968, the other 500 miles southeast and just over the Manitoba border in Minnesota in 1970. I visited these sites from April to June, using forty-foot and fifty-foot observation towers built a few feet from the nest-trees in order to get a close view.

Old nests built by other species, such as Goshawks and Red-tailed Hawks, generally are used by Great Gray Owls as nest sites. Once a nest has thus been adapted, it is probably used each year as long as owls are present. Establishment of territories must begin in February, for eggs are laid in late March and April. Keeping a clutch of eggs at well above ninety degrees when the outside temperature is far below freezing requires close sitting. For almost two months, from the onset of egg-laying, through incubation and development of the nestlings, the female owl sits on the nest for twenty-four hours a day. Throughout this long period in spite of snow, cold, rain, and wind, she remains at the nest, late in this schedule leaving only once a day for a few minutes respite from her duties. The persistence with which the female attends the nest and young suggests an indomitable spirit which may not exist, but which affects our judgement of owls' behaviour. We err in attributing other traits, too, seeing courage in their defence of their young, cunning in their hunting tactics, and foolishness in their lack of fear of us. Most of their behaviour is at least admirably suited to their survival. To keep up her strength and energy, to keep eggs and nestlings heated, and the latter fed, the female requires a constant supply of food. This is where the male comes in; he is the hunter and provider of food, bringing each day up to a dozen or more small mammals to the female on the nest. The male roams the hunting territory, scouting for food, alert to every rustle and squeak. He is an expert in the habits of mice, voles and shrews. Early in the season the ground is covered with snow and these animals are deep beneath it. Still, they must come to the surface to open ventilation shafts, and they make occasional daring trips across the snow. The owl watches and listens from his perch on a stump or low branch, as attentively as a cat, abruptly turning his head from time to time to take a steady fix on some hidden activity. He launches himself soundlessly, soars across the snow to hover briefly on silent wings, then plunges down, his long feet grasping his prey under the snow. At first when he flies away his prey is held in his feet, but when he nears the nest he stops to switch it to his bill. At the nest, food is transferred from his bill to the female's bill, both birds closing their eyes briefly at the last moment. The transfer is quick, a moment later the male dives away from the nest and with a powerful low glide is off through the woods.

The tameness of this species was apparent even at the nest site. The male was wary and usually was at the site only when bringing food to the female. The latter showed little alarm at our intrusion and after a few minutes seemed unconcerned about our activities. Often she gave

a soft, vibrant '*hoo-hoo-hoo*', doubtless talking less to us than to the distant male. Sometimes it was even hard to get the brooding female to open her eyes, loud shouts and waving arms notwithstanding. One of her most fascinating traits was the way she briefly looked directly at us, then turned away, neither alarmed nor interested. When we tried to draw the female's attention by giving a mouse-like squeak, she would at once raise her head above the edge of the nest and peer down intently towards the sound, but still she seemed to be looking past us. In a way it was frustrating to feel so out of touch. Later, when handling the fledged young, we were able to elicit a much stronger response, for then the female would come and sit close beside or above us, watching intently when we picked up the young for banding. On several occasions she accepted dead mice which we offered her on the point of a stick, eating them herself or feeding them to the young. Now, finally, we were in touch! Eventually we went too far in handling the young and were aggressively attacked by the mother bird. She dived upon us with great speed and surprising force, striking unexpectedly at the head or back of the person bothering the young. Thus we learnt that her apparent tameness should not be mistaken for licence to interfere with the young birds.

Incubation in this species begins with the laying of the first egg, hence the young of a brood are of different ages. In one of the nests which we observed, four of five eggs were hatched, the last or youngest bird being so much smaller than the others that none of us thought it would survive. Often older birds make greater demands on the parents, getting more of the food brought to the nest, and in such cases the youngest may die. But we had not counted on the female giving it special consideration. From the beginning she showed an unusual concern for the youngest, selecting bits of mouse flesh and carefully placing them in the owlet's mouth. The mouse entrails she invariably ate herself. Long after the other owlets were gulping down whole mice, even after all of them were out of the nest, the female continued to favour the youngest. Five days after they had left the nest I was surprised to see the female fly fifty feet directly to where I was holding a long pole with a dead mouse on the end, offering it to one of the bigger owlets perched fifteen feet above me on a slim, dead tree. The female dexterously swooped in and, reaching over the head of the owlet, picked off the mouse in her bill and then landed nearby. While I was trying to record this, she ate part of the mouse then flew off with the remainder to feed the youngest owl. The entire astonishing scene was repeated a few minutes later when the male arrived with a mouse which he attempted to feed to the same older owlet. After landing on the slanted, dead tree a few feet below where the owlet was perched, the male, with his wings held upright for balance, walked up towards it, the mouse dangling in his bill. Before the young owl could reach out to get the mouse the female had landed on the tip of the tree beside it and, reaching past it, took the mouse from the male. A moment later she flew off and fed the youngest again.

Nest and observation tower close to the Canadian border.

Young Great Gray Owls leave the nest when only three weeks old, but their growth in that period has been rapid and they have already become belligerent nestmates, pushing and shoving at each other in the crowded nest. We missed seeing them make their exodus, but since the nests were forty and fifty feet high respectively, it must have been an impressive drop-out. At this age they are still covered with down and, of course, are unable to fly. They are great climbers, hitching themselves up slanted tree trunks from branch to branch with claws and

The male leaving the nest.

especially with their head and bill, flapping their featherless wings all the while. For a few weeks thereafter they may be found in the vicinity of the nest-tree, perched sometimes as high as thirty feet. Now the male may carry food directly to the young, feeding them in the same way he feeds the female. The food-begging calls of the hungry young, a harsh, sibilant '*sheek*' given repeatedly, are a much louder version of the call given in the nest, and they sound surprisingly loud in the June woods.

From dawn, vibrant with the medley of singing birds, all day we follow the owls, watching the young flap from tree to tree, hearing the female call to her mate, seeing him wing in through the trees, noting again the exchange of food. Tracking back across a boggy clearing to find the male, I muse on our ways: in striving to understand the pattern of the lives of these birds we are working out our own patterns. Long before noon it is hot in the woods, quiet, and the male rests in the shade of a tamarack grove, motionless, hunched up against the side of a tree, only his head turning slightly as I approach. While I stumble about the bog, notebook in hand, pestered by blackflies and mosquitoes, the owl on his perch stares blankly at me, blinks once, twice, then sinks farther down inside himself. Stopping to admire the last dew-drops on three bulbous, pink moccasin-flowers, letting my eyes enjoy the varied forms of bog plants that surround me, I catch a glimpse of a quick Red-backed Vole, a mouse of the world of spruce-needles, fern, sphagnum moss, decayed wood. How much of all this does the owl perceive? When he thumps down upon the mouse does the wild orchid fill his eye as it does mine? We cannot know, but I am envious of the relationship which I think these creatures have with this wild place, jealous of their intimate involvement.

Many years ago, Thoreau wrote:

> I rejoice that there are owls. Let them do the idiotic and maniacal hooting for men. It is a sound admirably suited to swamps and twilight woods which no day illustrates, suggesting a vast and undeveloped nature which men have not recognized. They represent the stark twilight and unsatisfied thoughts which all have. All day the sun has shone on the surface of some savage swamp, where the single spruce stands hung with usnea lichens, and small hawks circulate above, and the chickadee lisps amid the evergreens, and the partridge and rabbit skulk beneath; but now a more dismal and fitting day dawns, and a different race of creatures awakes to express the meaning of Nature there.

In the twilight of evening the male Great Gray Owl travelled back and forth from the bog to the woods, carrying warm prey to his family, and still we could not leave. A Ruffed Grouse in a nearby willow bush, balancing awkwardly on the slim branches and with neck outstretched, was eating pussy-willows one by one, as fast as it could snip them off. The heavy spruce tops were black against the pale salmon, blue, and green sky and bird songs were muted by a peculiar heaviness, some change in the quality of the air. In the rising chill the male owl uttered a soft, throaty, steady but slow '*hoo-hoo-hoo-hoo*'; hardly had we time to thrill at the beauty of this effect when he followed with a series of rapid double notes: '*who-hoo, who-hoo, who-hoo*'. A 'different race of creatures', indeed.

Lingering silent and thoughtful on the edge of the woods we had a satisfying sense of having shared some part of the owl's world. ◆

Owlets grow rapidly for these youngsters, which are already large, will leave the nest when they are three weeks old.

The brooding female accepts a small mammal that her mate has brought to the nest.

EASTMAIN SOD HOUSES

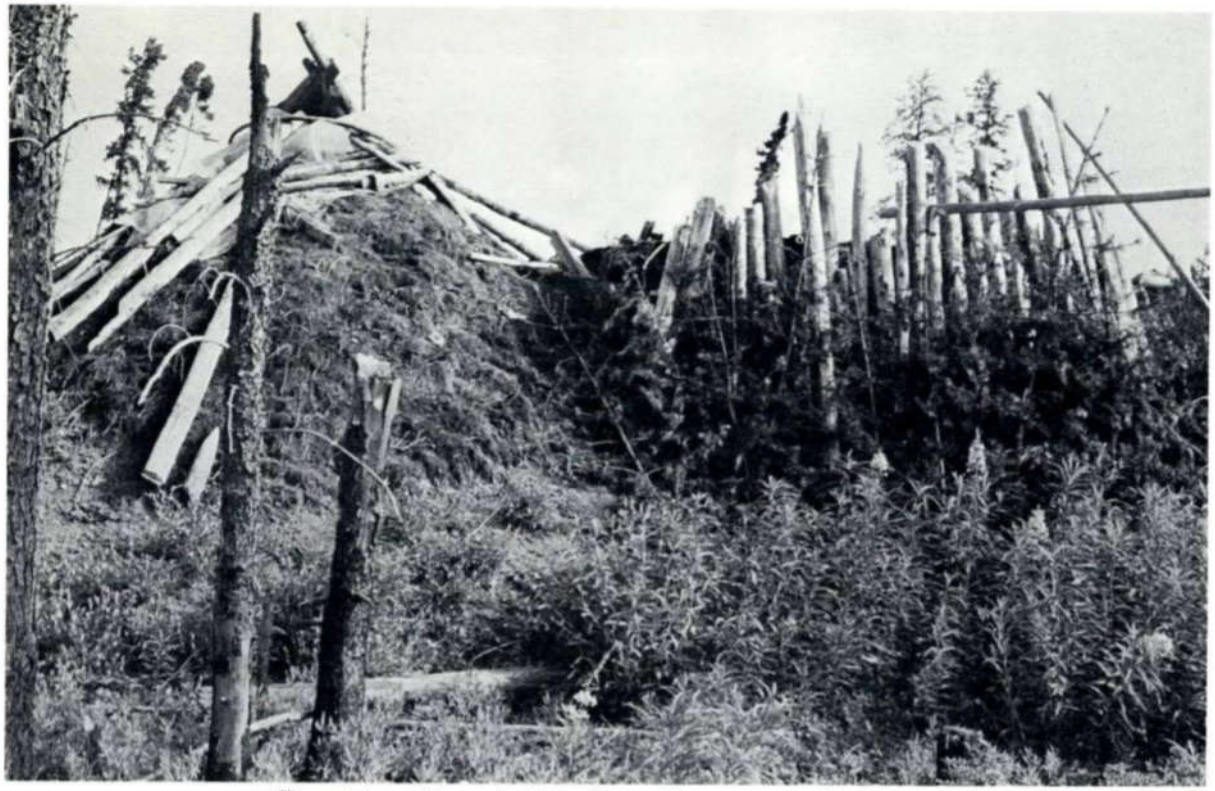
by G. Heberton Evans III

SCEPTICS WHO TOLD US the Eastmain River was no longer travelled by the Indian were not exactly right, but the overgrown condition of the portage trails and sparseness of camping signs made it obvious that by 1967 few Eastmainers were wintering inland. Even so the dividing line between Mistassini and Eastmain territory was obvious, for the Eastmainers were apparently the only James Bay band employing a conical wigwam tent frame in preference to store-bought wall tents.

On the south side of the river, perhaps 100 miles from the bay we found a conical frame completely covered with sod or moss. Immediately Edward S. Rogers' picture of an 'earth-covered conical lodge' (Nemiscau Indians, *The Beaver*, Summer 1965) came to mind. He indicated that such structures are now rare, and since this was the only sod house we encountered, we could only agree.

In 1968, on our second Eastmain canoe trip, about eight miles below our 1967 discovery was a new, similar camp built by Harry Moses of Eastmain the previous winter. Our informants indicated that sod houses were still constructed by wintering Eastmainers, and they felt such quarters were peculiar to their band.

The first sod house examined by the author in 1967. Mr Evans, a mathematics instructor at Governor Dummer Academy, Massachusetts, led canoeing groups for ten years from Lake Temagami, Ontario, down the James Bay rivers.



The winter sod house built by Harry Moses showing the eastern side with the porch enclosed by vertical poles and brush.

In 1967 we were almost immediately adopted by Harry's 16-year-old nephew, Cree-speaking Teddy Moses, whose English was flawless as a result of years of schooling in Sault Ste Marie. Teddy also befriended us in subsequent summers, but only in 1969 was his father, Willie, at home and able through his son as interpreter to provide a first-hand account of construction methods. Harry was harvesting crops in southern Ontario during each of our visits.

The Eastmainer calls his structure a *mito-hogan*, freely translated as 'wood house'. Construction varies, but the two we observed differed only in floor size.

There were only about a half dozen wintering parties still operating from the post, and as has become common practice Willie teamed with other hunters; his wife's health made it unwise for her to join him. Winter camps were usually relocated in different territories each year, but a sod house remains livable for at least ten years, needing only minor repairs to the moss covering. The Moses family partially dated our first discovery by observing that they occupied that camp for several nights when their youngest son was a year old; he was nine in our 1969 visit.

The previous winter Willie's party trapped between Great Bend and Clarkie Lake at the eastern end of Eastmain territory. For a while relatives from Nemiscau, including the 108-year-old patriarch, Luke Metaweskum, one of Teddy's grandfathers, joined the party, illustrating the inter-relationship between the bands stemming from associations when freight was carried inland to Neoskweskau on both the Rupert and Eastmain by the two groups. Willie was still wondering in August how to retrieve his canoe which they took to Nemiscau with them.

Camp must be reached before freeze-up if a sod house is to be constructed, and each party normally flies in with a canoe or has one cached nearby. Both river camps were in areas that are partially burnt over, providing a ready supply of seasoned spruce for building and heating—although Willie indicated that a 'burn' is not required. The party first erects a tent for temporary accommodation. The older camp had a pudding tent framework standing, while Harry's camp had a conical wigwam set of poles. When the house is completed, the tent canvas is packed back in the bush to provide an emergency over-night shelter.

Construction takes three men about three days. First an elliptical depression about a foot deep is hollowed out. The upper house measured about 18 feet on the longer, sideways axis, and 12 feet on the front-back axis. Harry's house apparently housed five adults and two teen-age children, and measured about 24 by 15 feet.

The second camp, located in a 'barn', with cache to the left of the house and beaver stretchers and wigwam frame to the right. Willie Moses of Eastmain with his wife and son, Joseph, and below, a view of Moses' house from the river side.

Willie explained the elliptical floor provides such space that anyone needing an indoor working area can be slightly removed from the centrally located bush stove. The solid walls also fit together more easily than is possible when employing the circular base that is normally associated with the building of a conical tent.

A hole is dug to accept each of the four major supporting poles – two on the back, and two on the front. The back pair are lashed or nailed together; as are the front pair. Each pair is raised with a rope until the two meet and are connected by cross pieces. Two more major poles are positioned to frame the doorway and are lashed into the vertex. Cross pieces are added between adjacent poles; these braces are rarely horizontal, but angled between poles.

Then poles sufficiently long to reach from base almost to peak are carefully split using an ax and wedges. The smooth side of each half log is faced inward and laid in place without being secured to the frame. The split siding conserves wood and makes the walls less heavy than if whole logs were used. Perhaps a less obvious advantage, Willie explained, is that the relatively smooth interior also reflects light from the candle or lighting device necessary with the stove enclosing the fire. The earthen floor is covered with spruce boughs and replaced or replenished as the needles dry out. Bedding is laid so each sleeper's head is toward the outside wall with feet toward the fire.

After the wood frame is completed, sod, or as Willie referred to it, moss, drawn in clumps a foot thick is packed on the outside. When it is impossible to work

The smoke hole of Moses' house showing major supporting poles and the connecting braces against which the siding logs were laid.

The door of Moses' house, sheltered by enclosed porch.

standing on the ground, a ladder is laid against the side so punctures will not be made by walking up the wall. Although the stove has its own pipe, a central smoke hole is left for ventilation, and moss here must be sufficiently thick so that escaping heat will not melt snow packed around the hole, allowing water to drip through.

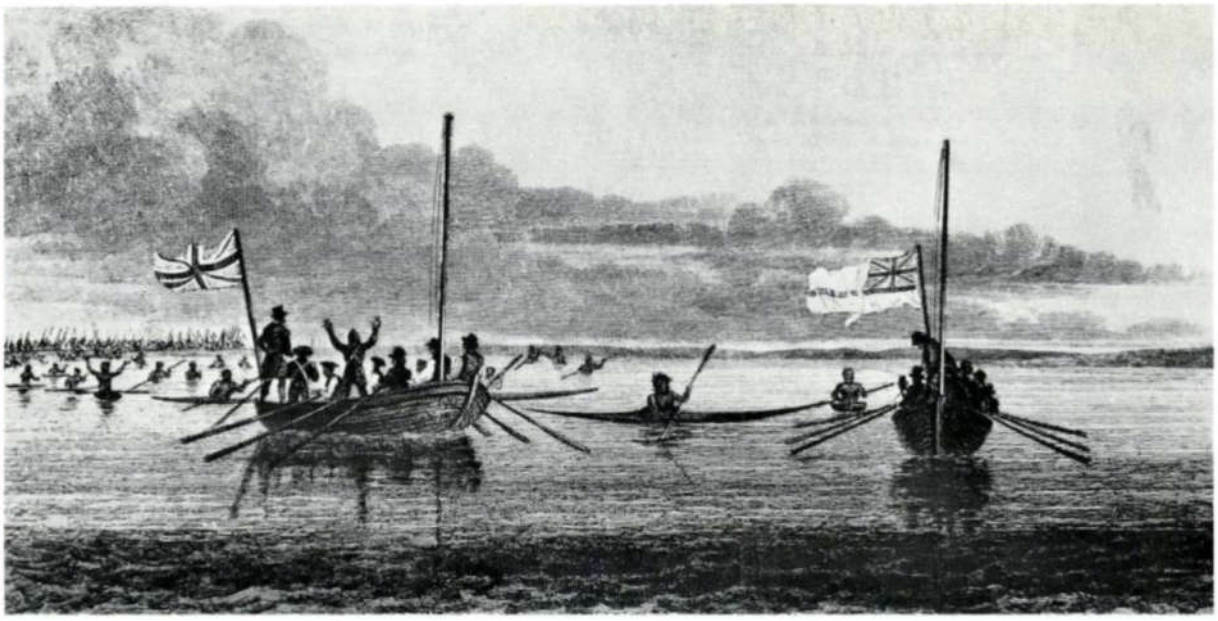
Interior height varies, but the centre will normally rise eight to ten feet, making it possible to stand in about half the house. The doorway is two to three feet wide, maybe three to four feet high, and covered by a canvas flap.

The Eastmain house also had a flat-roofed porch, about six feet high and twelve feet deep, lacking in Mr Rogers' Nemiscau illustration. Two upright poles were set on each side of the doorway, one at the outer limit of the porch, the other next to the house. A horizontal rail was laid on each pair of uprights and tied to a major supporting pole. Additional rails were laid across these stringers, and several feet of brush were piled on top. Snow provided a sealer to create a solid roof.

Several rows of split firewood were laid under the porch, but the row between the outside uprights was never used and provided a barrier to shelter the door. As with Harry's camp, wings of brush further protected the porch's storage area.

External to Harry's house were several storage racks. One fifty yards behind the house held a substantial cache. Beaver stretchers were carefully piled on a closer one, and nearby were small houses of brush and logs for about five dogs. Caches were also left in both houses; the one at the upper camp was less valuable than Harry's, which included a toboggan, stove, and other equipment.

How much longer the Eastmainer will continue his unique construction remains a question. Most of the wintering parties were led by men like Willie then in his late fifties, but their sons, like Teddy, rarely winter in the bush. In 1970 we discovered two more old houses in the same general area but off the river, near Lake Pivert, which were identified by Willie Moses as having been built by his father.



EXCAVATION AT KITTIGAZUIT

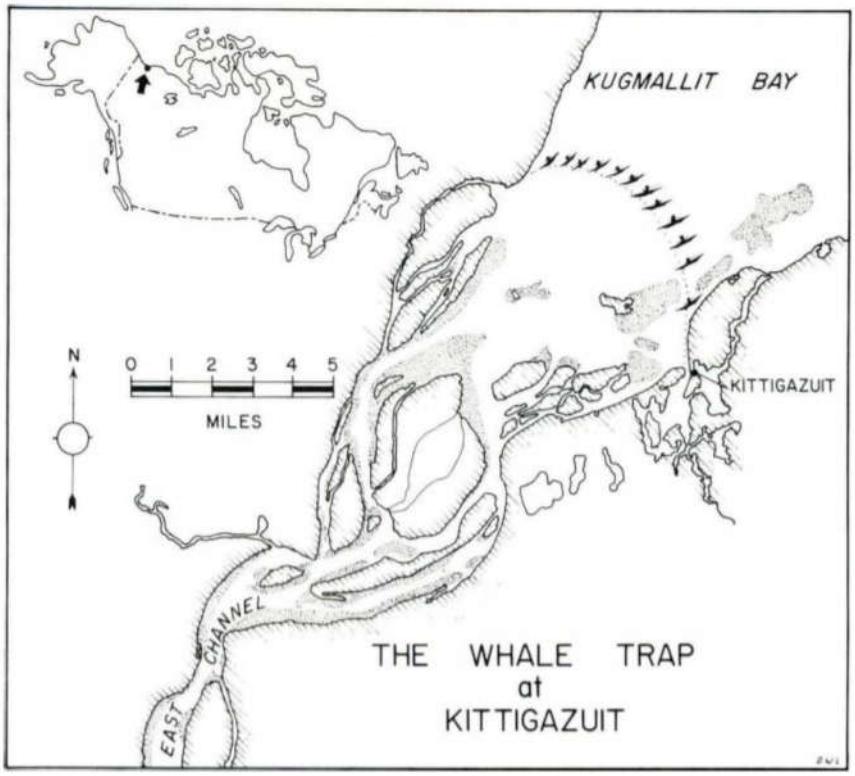
A DECAYED LOG CABIN, the roof half fallen in, is the only visible remnant of the abandoned village named Kittigazuit. The cabin sits on a grassy hillside sloping up from the Mackenzie River, at the point where East Channel abruptly widens and merges into the shallow expanse of Kugmallit Bay. Prior to the series of epidemics which decimated the local Eskimo population in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, this was the site of the largest Mackenzie Eskimo settlement. Local traditions and historical accounts suggest that over 2,000 Eskimos lived in the Mackenzie Delta area at the time of European contact. About half of these people gathered for several weeks each summer at Kittigazuit, and identified themselves as *Kittegaryumiut*.

An arctic settlement of 1,000 people is extremely large, by either Eskimo or European standards. A settlement of this size which existed without importing massive supplies of food and materials from the south, as do all modern towns, is almost unimaginable and was made possible only by specialized exploitation of unique local conditions. The archaeological excavations carried out at Kittigazuit in the summer of 1969, sponsored by the National Museum of Man, were designed to discover how far back in time this specialized exploitation could be traced. Was the large population and rich culture of the Mackenzie Eskimos a recent phenomenon which developed immediately prior to European contact, or had it existed since Eskimos first inhabited the area? Could we write a history of the people based merely on the material remains of their most important settlement?

The occupation of Kittigazuit and the use of the site as a summer hunting station is closely tied to the specialized exploitation of belugas which formed the basis of the rich Mackenzie Eskimo economy. These small white whales are abundant in some northern waters, and large herds migrate each summer into the Beaufort Sea area of the western Canadian Arctic. Because they are very fast swimmers, and because they often sink when killed, these whales were very difficult to hunt prior to the introduction of rifles. Open water hunting was never important despite the abundance of whales, but large kills could be made in a few special situations, such as when the whales migrated along narrow ice leads or when they could be trapped in a river estuary. A few localities around the world form natural traps for whales, and local populations have usually devised techniques for using these traps in order to obtain a large supply of meat and oil with minimal effort. Perhaps the most famous whale trap in Canada is the weir-trap traditionally used by the Québecois of Isle aux Coudres in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Kittigazuit is located at the site of another natural whale trap, and was occupied to make use of this trap.

After flowing through a maze of mud shoals and low islands, the East Channel of Mackenzie River opens out just upstream from Kittigazuit. The slightly muddy river water spreads over the flat bottom of Kugmallit Bay, filled and levelled by millennia of silt deposition so that depths of less than one fathom occur several miles from shore. Fish abound in the shallow river mouth, and each summer these fish attract herds of belugas which move

Eskimos from a large Delta encampment depicted in 1826 by Captain Back. (Right) a line of hunters drove the white whales upstream where they were killed among the shoals and islands.



by Robert McGhee
Arctic Archaeologist, National Museum of Man. Since 1965 Dr McGhee has worked various arctic sites including the Mackenzie Delta, Victoria Island and the Coppermine area.

from the open sea into the estuary to feed. Feeding herds can be expected regularly between mid-July and early September, and during this period groups of Eskimos from the eastern Mackenzie Delta and Eskimo Lakes area gathered at Kittigazuit for the summer hunt.

After a long winter season spent in isolated groups of only a few families, the move to Kittigazuit must have been eagerly awaited by the *Kittegaryumiut*. Camping in tents along the gravel beach and over the grassy hillside, the various families could visit, trade, and generally participate in the active social life of a large community. Communal activity reached its peak in the whale hunts which formed the basis of the gathering. These whale hunts are described in local tradition, in the memories of people who lived at Kittigazuit as children, and in a few written accounts such as that of C. E. Whittaker.

A lookout posted on the high ground to the north of the village was usually the first to see the whales as they rolled on the surface, their white backs resembling a patch of white-capped waves moving rapidly upstream. The lookout's signal set the hunt in motion. Silence descended on the village as the women were forbidden to chop wood or do other noisy work which might frighten the whales. The men in their kayaks silently slipped out of the channel at 40 or 50 yard intervals, and paddled across the bay toward the opposite shore. In large hunts which may have involved up to 200 kayaks (the number which met Sir John Richardson when he rowed past Kittigazuit in 1848), the first kayak is said to have reached the opposite shore some five miles distant at the same time as the last kayak left the village. The trap was now prepared, and with shouts and banging of paddles the men turned their kayaks upstream and began to drive the confused and frightened whales into the narrow channels and shoals of the lower river, where they became easy targets for the harpoons and lances of the hunters.

The small hunt described by C. E. Whittaker, who visited the community in 1896, killed 40 whales although only 25 men took part. Several hundred whales are reputed to have been killed by some of the larger hunts, and this figure does not seem at all improbable. Since the whales averaged around 1,000 pounds in weight, and much of this weight is in the form of rich meat and oil, a single successful hunt could yield supplies of food and fuel which would provide for much of the following winter season. The fact that several successful hunts could be expected each summer demonstrates the richness and security of the economic base upon which Mackenzie Eskimo culture was built. Hunting economies are usually considered to be less productive than those of more 'advanced' cultures, but in a situation such as that provided by the Kittigazuit locale, hunting could provide more produce for less labour than many of the agricultural and industrial economies that have been developed in human history.

After the whaling season, the population of Kittigazuit decreased rapidly. Families packed their belongings and began returning to their winter houses scattered in small groups throughout the Delta and Eskimo Lakes area. A few families had winter houses at Kittigazuit itself, and

after the ground became frozen in the fall they began cleaning and repairing these houses so as to be ready for winter occupation. The winter houses of the Mackenzie Eskimo were large multi-family structures up to 60 feet across, built of driftwood and covered with earth and sod. Constructed in the shape of a cross, the house had a long covered entrance passage which led to a trap-door in the central floor; this floor area was surrounded by three raised sleeping platforms which could accommodate one or two families each.

Six winter houses occupied during the late 19th century at Kittigazuit had house names which were remembered by Stefansson's Eskimo informants: *Kangilirk, Alirk, Sukarluktok, Nutarmiok, Kimiaryuk, Kajigimiok*. These seem to have been traditional names which related to the site on which the house stood. When a winter house became so dilapidated that it could not be easily repaired, it was torn down and a new house built on the same site; the new house may have been of a different size and shape than the preceding one, but it bore the same name. The result of several such rebuilding episodes is a mound of earth and logs consisting of the ruins of several old houses superimposed on one another. At this point the history of Kittigazuit as told by traditional and written accounts begins to merge into the history of the site as revealed by archaeology.

Walking through the tall grass which covers the site of the old settlement, one soon discovers the low earthen mounds with central pits and sunken entrance passages which are the remains of 19th century multi-family houses. Six of these mounds are plainly visible, and it is tempting to suggest that these mounds may be identified with the six named house sites described to Stefansson. Several other mounds are less clearly visible, and these probably represent the remains of houses abandoned at an earlier time. A northward extension of the village area crosses a narrow spit of land which is being slowly eroded as storm tides cut away its base. The surface of this spit shows traces of several old houses, and the vertical profile of the eroding bank reveals a village refuse deposit up to five feet thick. This deposit is made up of beluga bones, fragments of pottery, tools and household equipment, and the remains of log houses buried by later occupations.

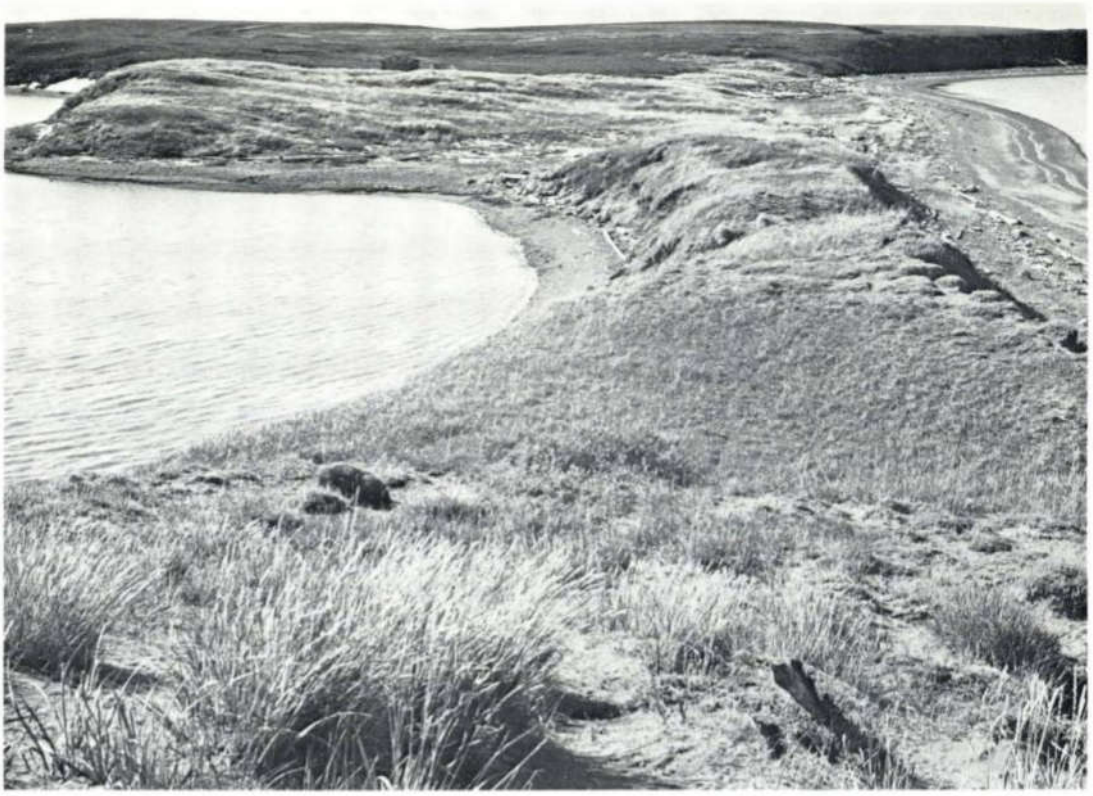
The eroding banks of the spit area were admirably suited to our archaeological purpose. With the limited manpower of our party, which consisted only of myself and Mr Dale Russell of the University of Saskatchewan, we could not hope to make deep excavations in the permanently frozen house mounds. Most of our effort was spent in attempting to sort out and record the culture history revealed in the confusing pile of refuse deposit revealed by the eroding bank and deeply thawed by exposure to the sun. Our excavations were designed to identify late prehistoric Mackenzie Eskimo material culture as represented in the upper levels of the deposit, to distinguish any changes in the nature of the occupation as we went deeper in the deposit and further back in time, and finally to date the beginning of the occupation.

The attainment of these objectives was, of course, not at all a straightforward job. Most of the complications arose from the way in which the deposit had accumulated. Separate yearly occupations or entire periods of occupation are not separated as distinct layers in the midden. They may either merge together or are represented as isolated or interfingering lenses which occur in only part of the horizontal area excavated. Although recent material is confined to the top layer, simple physical depth within the deposit does not always correlate with time depth. Some areas such as an ash dump may accumulate a foot of deposits in a few seasons, while other areas may accumulate less depth of deposits in as many centuries. House construction often involved digging into the deposits below the house site, thus bringing these older deposits to the surface or even to the roof of the house. The final touch of confusion is added by the burrowing activities of ground squirrels, and by sliding and slumping of the thawed deposits towards the eroding face.

Our only weapons in combating this confusion were careful techniques of excavation and recording. All

DIAMOND JENNESS, NATIONAL MUSEUMS

An Eskimo winter house, tents and drying racks on the Mackenzie Delta, 1914.



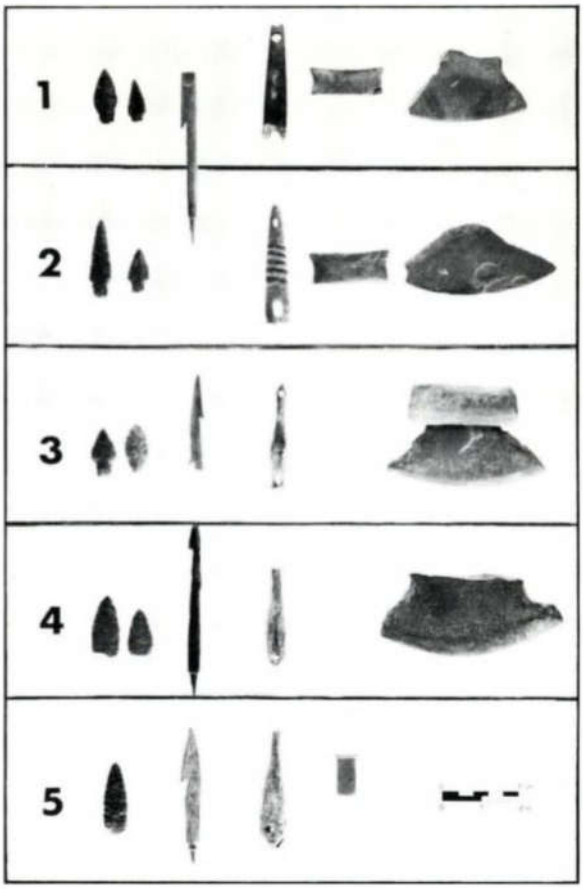
Kittigazuit from the north showing low house mounds on the grassy hillsides. The main excavation was along the eroding bank at the right.

excavation was done within one meter horizontal squares which were given a grid designation, and thin vertical walls were left between the squares so that some record of the sequence of deposits was left after the square had been dug out. Most of the digging (or, more accurately, scraping) was done with a small sharp-edged pointing trowel; all finds of artifacts, logs, and changes in soil colour and texture were recorded horizontally and vertically in relation to a fixed datum point. Important features and all vertical profiles were recorded by drawings and photographs so that the site could be reconstructed as completely as possible in the laboratory. This attention to detail sounds rather boring, but it is only in this way that the archaeologist can hope to unravel the history of deposition at a site of this kind. Unsystematic shovelling in search of artifacts, or blasting of sites in search of whale bone as occurred in a recent disastrous case, destroys any chance of recovering the history of the Eskimos who occupied these ancient villages.

Despite the care taken in excavating and recording, a clear-cut sequence of superimposed occupation layers could not be detected. Nevertheless, we were able to divide the total depth of deposit into five superimposed layers, numbered 1 to 5 from top to bottom, representing distinctive and successively older layers of occupational deposit. These layers are not of uniform thickness, some of them occur only in part of the area excavated and they almost certainly do not represent equal spans of time. A brief description of these five layers is given together with a list of the more characteristic artifacts and features of each layer.

Layer 1: The upper layer of the deposit, generally 6″ to 12″ thick, is composed of a dense mat of grass roots overlying dark rich loam containing artifacts and bone fragments. The artifacts found in this layer are a mixture of aboriginal Eskimo types made of local materials, with scraps of metal, cartridge cases and beads obtained by trade with Europeans. The artifacts represent all major activities of Mackenzie Eskimo life as described by early travellers. Sea hunting is represented by harpoon parts, ground slate blades for whaling lances, and kayak paddle fragments; 81% of the bones recovered from this layer are those of white whales, indicating the importance of summer whaling to the people who occupied the village at this time. Land hunting is represented by a few arrowheads, arrowshaft and bow fragments, and is reflected in the caribou bones (15%) and bird bones (3%) found in the deposit. Fishing is represented by parts of composite fishhooks and line sinkers of the type used by historic Eskimo in fishing for *inconnu*; bark net floats and notched pebble sinkers indicate that gill nets were made and used. Very few seal bones were found, reflecting the poor sealing which exists in the site area at the present time.

The remainder of the artifacts reflect village activities which took place in and around the large houses visible on the surface of the deposit. Women's tools include ulus with ground slate blades, chipped stone blades for skin scrapers, pottery cooking vessels with flat bottoms, various kinds of carved wooden plates, and dishes made of bent wood attached to a flat wooden base. Men's tools are represented by bow-drill parts, whittling-knife



A vertical profile in part of the main excavation showing the separation into five layers. The survey pins are one meter (39″) apart and the lower pin is placed one meter down. Artifacts from the layers are, from the left, arrow points, arrowheads, fishhook shanks, labrets, and ulus.

handles, whetstones, a ground stone adze blade, and flensing knives with ground slate blades. Labrets of the type worn in the lower lip by historic Eskimos are found, made of wood or stone, and ceremonial activity is represented by fragments of drum rims. Children's toys include a small stone doll and a miniature wooden bow of the reflex type.

The presence of European material indicates that this layer represents the last prehistoric occupation of the site; the layer can be roughly dated to the 19th century. Most of the artifact types found were still in use when collections of Mackenzie Eskimo artifacts were made by early travellers, although by this time some of the stone tools had been replaced by metal. The proportion of various kinds of animal bones found as food refuse indicates a hunting pattern very similar to that remembered by the last occupants of the site. Very little imagination is needed to convert the refuse and artifacts recovered by excavation into a living reconstruction of life at Kittigazuit at the period just before this way of life was altered by the intrusion of European whalers and traders into the area.

Layer 2: The boundary between Layer 1 and the underlying layer is marked in part of the excavation by fragments of decayed logs representing the floor of the house which contributed its living refuse to Layer 1. In other areas the boundary is marked merely by a change in soil texture to a lighter sandy loam containing no European materials. In all other respects, the material excavated from Layer 2 is practically identical to that recovered from Layer 1. Again, most of the bone refuse (80%) is that of white whales, with caribou second in frequency (7%) and a very few bird and seal bones. The similarity of all types of artifacts to those recovered from Layer 1 suggests a recent date, while the absence of European trade goods suggests a pre-19th century date. We may guess that the material excavated from this layer represents the refuse of a 17th or 18th century occupation of Mackenzie Eskimos whose way of life was practically identical to that of their 19th century descendants who were described by European travellers in the area.

Layer 3: Underlying Layer 2 in an irregular area of about 8 square meters in the centre of the excavation, is a deposit of white ashy earth 8″ to 12″ thick. The colour and texture of this soil stands out distinctly from that of the overlying and underlying deposits, which are dark in colour and contain the bones and wood fragments which identify them as the remains of houses and living refuse.

Few animal bones are found in the ashy layer, although bone and ivory artifacts are well preserved. Fewer artifacts were found in the ashy layer than in the upper loam layers, and the absence of some types of artifacts is probably due to the small sample recovered. The complete absence of pottery from Layer 3 is worth noting, however, as it suggests that the material which makes up the layer was not derived from household or cooking activities. Labrets, net floats and sinkers are also missing from this layer, although these artifacts occurred frequently in the upper layers.

We may conclude that Layer 3 probably represents an ash dump of some sort rather than the remains of a living area; it may have accumulated in a single season. The date of deposition is not known, but a guess date in the 16th century, based on the styles of harpoon head and arrowhead recovered from the ash, may not be far wrong.

Layer 4: In this layer we return to the ruins of a log house and the associated occupation debris. We were fortunate in having the light-coloured Layer 3 deposit in the centre of the excavated area, since this serves to distinguish Layer 4 from Layer 2 which is very similar in texture and appearance. The majority of the artifact types found in Layer 2 are duplicated by identical or similar specimens in Layer 4, and the number and proportions of animal bones are very similar to those of the upper layers: 85% white whale, 7% caribou, 5% bird, 2% seal and 1% moose. The hunting pattern of the Layer 4 people was obviously very similar to that of the late prehistoric peoples represented by Layers 1 and 2.

At first glance, the similarity in range and form of artifacts to those of the upper layers leads to the suspicion that Layer 4 is merely an extension of Layer 2. While digging the site, we found this situation to be rather discouraging, since it suggested that the entire deposit might relate to the late prehistoric period and that our excavations had yielded no evidence of the development of Mackenzie Eskimo culture through time. After cleaning up the material and sorting it out by layers in the laboratory, however, a number of slight but significant differences began to emerge from the Layer 4 artifact sample.

Stylistic changes in the shape of stone arrow points, antler arrowhead tangs, fishhook shanks, ulu blades, and the appearance of potsherds decorated with a stamped design of concentric circles, suggest relationships to the archaeologically-known Nunagiak phase on the North Alaskan coast and the contemporaneous Ekseavik phase in the interior of North Alaska, tree-ring dated to around A.D. 1400. The Layer 4 deposits at Kittigazuit may be dated to the 14th or 15th centuries with some assurance.

The extreme similarity in the range of artifacts and food refuse recovered from Layer 4 to that recovered from Layers 1 and 2 indicates that, despite minor stylistic changes, a pattern of life similar to that of the historic Mackenzie Eskimos had been developed in the Delta area by approximately five hundred years ago.

Layer 5: The base of Layer 4 marks the bottom of the dark loam deposit containing house remains and abundant village refuse. Below this layer, and separating it from the underlying bedded sands and clays deposited millennia ago by the river, is a thin band of discoloured sand containing a few artifacts and many flakes and chunks of grey flint which are refuse from the manufacture and use of flint tools. This thin sandy layer is distinctly visible in only a few small areas; usually it is blurred through slumping or folding. All of the artifacts came from these blurred and folded zones 8″ to 12″ thick, so that it is not certain that any of them originated from the thin lower layer; some or all of these artifacts may have been derived from the bottom of the overlying Layer 4. Despite this fact, we can be quite sure that Layer 5 does represent an occupation which took place at some time earlier than that of Layer 4; the extreme scarcity of organic material in Layer 5, and the abundance of flint flakes (approximately 100 times more frequent than in the upper four layers) is good evidence for this. A single potsherd, with the outer surface missing so that there is no indication of decoration, is much harder and better made than any of the pottery from the upper four layers, and resembles the Norton pottery of Alaska made prior to about A.D. 500.

The material recovered from Layer 5 is insufficient for dating the layer by stylistic comparisons; no organic material was recovered so that there is no opportunity to use the radiocarbon dating technique. All we know is that at some time prior to the 14th or 15th century occupation of Layer 4, the site was used by people who may have been related to the Norton, Norton-derived or Birnirk culture peoples who inhabited northern Alaska between roughly 500 B.C. and A.D. 1000. Due to unusually cold weather during August of 1969, thawing of the ground was very slow and consequently only a few square meters of the Layer 5 deposits could be excavated. We hope that a larger area of excavation may yield more precise information on the early occupation represented by this layer of deposit.

In summary, our preliminary excavations at Kittigazuit have demonstrated that the rich and distinctive culture of the historic Mackenzie Eskimo has a time depth of at least 500 years. The site was certainly occupied prior to that time, but we do not yet have enough information to decide whether the earlier residents had developed the whale hunting techniques which were the basis of the later settlement. A local history of the town of Kittigazuit would chronicle a continuous occupation since a time before the beginning of European emigration to North America, an occupation considerably longer than that of such ancient Canadian towns as Québec or St John's. More extensive archaeological excavation is the only method through which we can attempt to write such a history, and we can only hope that the site is preserved until the means for such a project became available. ◆

The Assiniboine

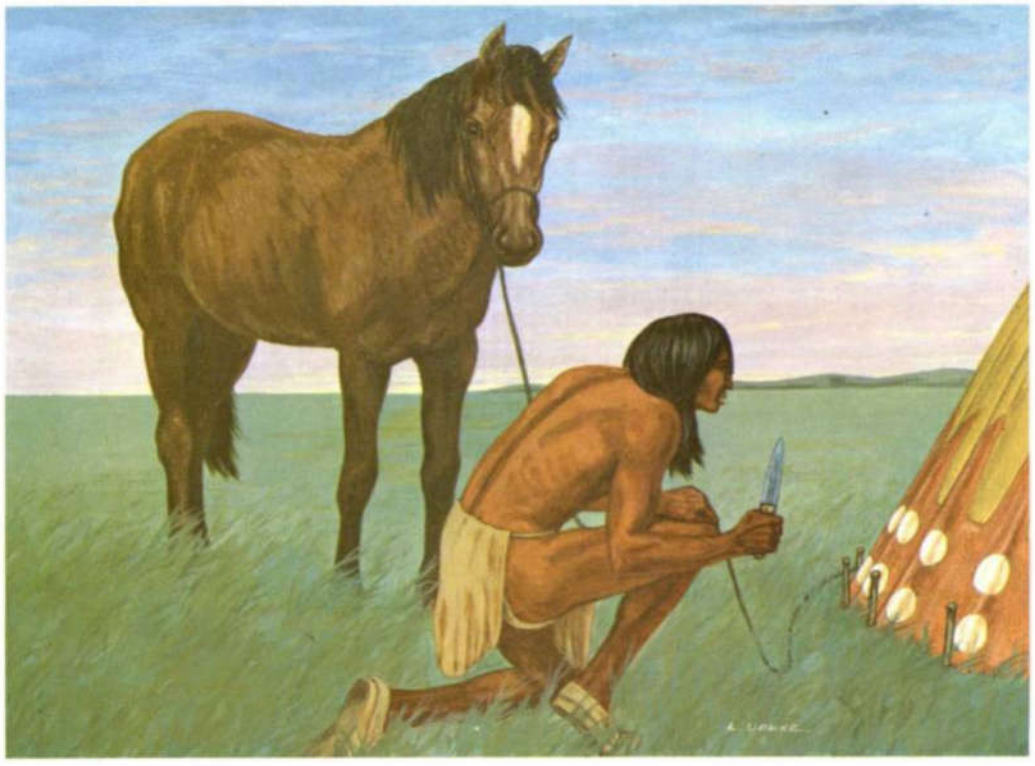
Text by E. S. ROGERS

Drawings by LEE UPDIKE

THE ASSINIBOINE, who called themselves *nakoʻta*, speak a Siouan language and were once a part of the Yanktonai, a branch of the Dakota Sioux. Formerly the Assiniboine were semi-agriculturists living about the headwaters of the Mississippi River in Minnesota. Shortly before the arrival of Europeans, they moved northward and became typical Plains Indians. Henry Kelsey in 1691 may have met Assiniboine somewhere on the northern plains. First definite mention of them was by the Jesuits in 1640, at which time the Assiniboine were a distinct group living on the west side of Lake Winnipeg. A hundred years later their hunting grounds encompassed much of the Canadian prairies. In 1775 Alexander Henry found them scattered along both the Saskatchewan and Assiniboine Rivers and as far as the headwaters of the former stream. The Rocky Mountain Assiniboines are commonly known today as the Stony Indians.

During their years of migration, the Assiniboine were often at war, especially with the Dakota Sioux; and with their Cree allies they fought the Blackfoot, the Mandan, and other Missouri River tribes and even the Kutenai (Kootenay) and Salish people on the far side of the Rocky Mountains.

The country that the Assiniboine came to inhabit is an area of gentle relief although in the west there are deeply entrenched valleys. The annual temperature range is great with winter lows at zero or below and summer highs above 60°F. Precipitation comes mostly in summer but the snow that does fall remains for a long time due to low winter temperatures. The southern part of Assiniboine



Assiniboine youth takes a horse from a Blackfoot camp.

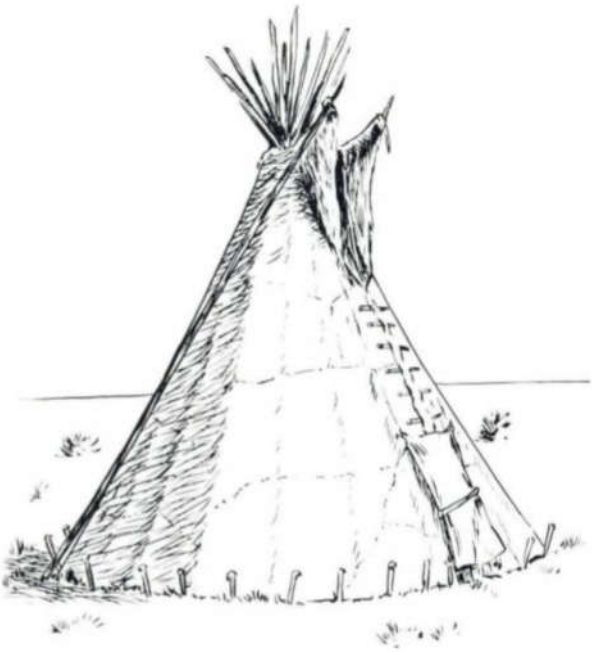
country was covered with short and mixed grasses. The northern part was at least partially forested. A parkland of aspen groves bordered the grasslands and to the north there were mixed forests of deciduous and evergreen trees. Bison roamed over much of the area in vast herds but other species also occurred such as antelope, elk, mule-deer and white-tailed deer, moose, black bear, beaver, muskrat, hare, porcupine, coyotes, gophers and many other smaller species. Ducks, geese, swans, cranes and shorebirds frequented the pot-holes during the months of warm weather. The many other birds included hawks and owls.

In the 1600s, the Assiniboine may have numbered 12,000 or more individuals. About 1780 a smallpox epidemic reduced their numbers, but only for a time. Then, in 1836, smallpox again took its toll killing as many as 4,000. In 1843 the Assiniboine totalled around 7,000 but by the turn of the century the number had dropped to about 2,600. In 1908, it is estimated that there were only about 900 Assiniboine in Canada. Today there are several thousand and more in the United States.

Being Plains Indians, they followed the movements of the bison herds upon which they depended for many of the necessities of life. For this, mobility was essential. By 1754 the western Assiniboine owned some horses, according to Anthony Henday, probably stolen from the Blackfoot. Yet for many years thereafter horses were few in number and the Assiniboine continued to use dogs to transport their belongings. Before they acquired horses, each family had from six to twelve dogs capable of transporting up to fifty pounds each with a travois.

During the winter these people lived in dispersed bands of up to 1,000 individuals, but often less. At one time it is said that as many as 33 bands existed. Each had its own chief, but there was no overall governing body for the whole tribe. If a band were large there might be several headmen in addition to the chief. These individuals formed a council, one duty of which was to discuss the appointment of a new chief. Any man who had made a name for himself in warfare, hunting, and kindness to the poor was often a candidate. Sometimes a shaman, because of his powers or the fear of his powers, was made a chief, although often they were bad rulers.

In winter, the Assiniboine erected their camps in secluded river valleys where trees provided shelter from the fierce winds. They lived in tipis the year round. The lodge had a framework of pine poles and was covered with bison hides sewn together, the number depending upon the size of the lodge. An average lodge cover consisted of from six to fourteen hides. Twenty made an extra large lodge. The women erected the lodges with the entrance facing south. The bottom of the lodge was

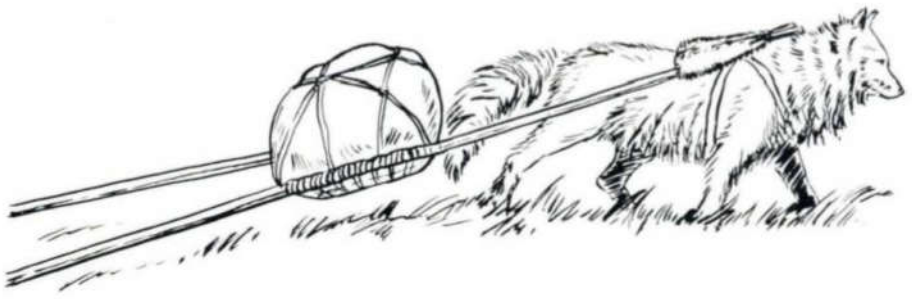


secured to the ground with wooden pegs. Inside around the circumference, a wall about four feet high made of yearling bison hides was attached to the lodge poles. This lining might be decorated with painted pictures of war exploits. The floor was covered with spruce boughs when these could be obtained. Backrests were made of peeled willow sticks and supported by a three-pole tripod. Other household furnishings were horn spoons, plates of box-elder or willow wood, awls, scrapers, other tools of bone and many sizes of folded rawhide food bags.

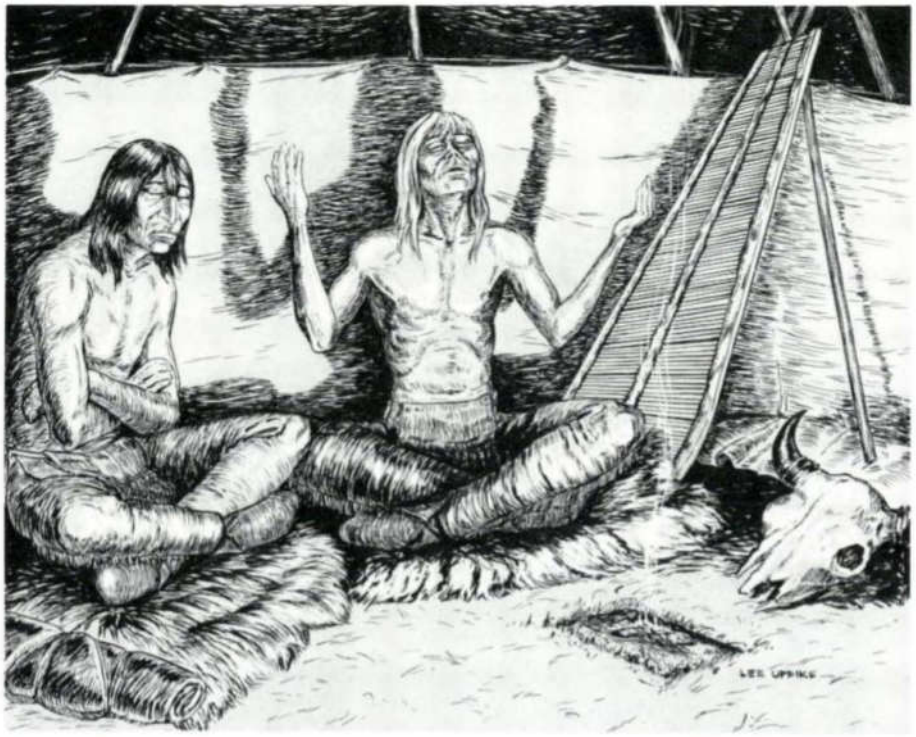
The men hunted bison, moose, elk, deer, and antelope during the winter, especially if the fall hunt had not produced an abundance of bison meat. Deep snow often covered the ground and then the Assiniboine travelled on snowshoes in search of game. Sometimes, when hunters approached a bison herd, they disguised themselves in white wolf skins and in this manner were often able to kill many animals. The hides taken from four-year-old bison killed in January and February were considered the best for robes. Such hides were not too thick and the hair was silky and luxuriant.

With the end of winter, the scattered bands began to reunite. Soon it would be time to perform the annual Medicine Lodge Ceremony or Sun Dance. Preparations for the ceremony, however, had started as soon as the snow was gone. Summer was also the time when the bison gathered in large herds and communal hunts could profitably take place.

When a band was about to move, the camp crier, instructed by the council, made the rounds of the camp and informed the people.



Up to fifty pounds can be transported by dog travois.



Medicine men fasting and seeking guidance for the buffalo hunt.

Once the band had gathered, about the middle of June, the Assiniboine undertook the Medicine Lodge Ceremony, the most important religious event of the year. The leader was a prominent man who had inherited the privilege and received the necessary instructions from his father. After a ceremonial bison hunt to provide food, the tribe moved to some previously chosen site and there erected a sacred pole. It was cut down after the manner of counting coup, dragged to camp and erected amid great rejoicing. To the pole and attached rafters of an especially large ceremonial lodge frame, the people tied their offerings to the 'Sun God'. The leader then gave a testimonial on behalf of the entire tribe. The ceremonies connected with the Medicine Lodge lasted at least three days. On the first day, the people danced; on the second, the shamans displayed their skills, and on the last, there was a feast at which dog flesh took a prominent part. The Assiniboine did not associate self-torture with the Medicine Lodge Ceremony as did some other Plains tribes. Self-torture was used only in the preparation for war, an important duty of the young men. Also held during the summer months was the Horse Dance Festival.

The principal gods of the Assiniboine were the Sun and the Thunder, both of which received public worship at the Medicine Lodge Ceremony. On especially solemn occasions, individuals frequently made offerings of tobacco smoke to the Sun and Thunder and prayed for long life, health, or success in some vital endeavour. Yet the Assiniboine placed less reliance on these 'higher' powers than on the supernatural blessings bestowed in a vision.

Besides a military society of noted warriors, the Assiniboine recognized four classes of men, more or less distinguished from ordinary citizens: two classes of shamans, and the owners of painted tipis, and the founders or leaders of the various dancing societies. None of these individuals, however, enjoyed much prestige unless they had distinguished themselves in warfare.

The military society, comprising all the most active men between the ages of 25 and 35, policed every large camp and regulated the bison hunts. Also it received delegations from other tribes and authorized raids for scalps and horses. The leader of the society took his orders from the dominant chief.

The number of dancing societies varied over time. Their purpose was usually social but the religious aspect was prominent in the Horse Dance Festival, in which an altar was erected inside a large tipi and incense and tobacco smoke offered to the Sun, Thunder, and the Earth. The dancing societies generally restricted their membership to men but as far back as 1820 women had a special society of their own. Candidates paid an initiation fee of varying amounts.

During the summer, the men hunted bison and other mammals. To take deer, hunters would hide near the watering places as evening approached. Some used a device to call deer within range of bow and arrow. Gathering of various plants for food was also undertaken. As early as the latter part of May, a rhubarb-like plant was secured and cut into small pieces and then cooked as a soup. In the latter part of June and throughout July wild turnips were dug with the aid of a pointed stick by

Spoons of bison horn.

the women, both old and young, assisted by the boys and girls. The turnips were peeled and eaten raw or sliced and cooked into a soup with pieces of fat added. Most, however, were peeled, sliced, spread on hides on the ground to dry and afterwards packed away for the winter. The dried turnips were boiled before being eaten.

As summer drew to a close, the women began to make clothing for the cold weather ahead. Antelope, deer, elk, and moose skins from which the hair had been removed were used. Robes, on the other hand, were prepared from hides with the hair left attached.

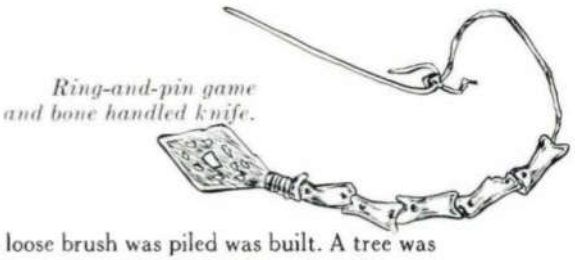
In the early days, men wore headgear of skins sometimes decorated with feathers or strips of hide from small animals. They wore three-quarter length coats which often served as shirts, and leggings each held up with a single strap. Robes were worn with the hair against the body not only for additional warmth but so as to show the decorations on the flesh side of the hides. A breech clout and a pair of moccasins completed the man's dress. Before the introduction of beads by traders, decoration on the costumes was done in coloured quills and paint.

Women's dresses were cut full and worn with a belt. Their leggings were held up by garters tied just below the knees. Their moccasins were made with tops of hide. Robes, ordinarily worn over the head, were used. In cold weather a form of hood and long fur mittens were worn.

While the women prepared clothing for the coming winter, the men made new bows and other items requiring a variety of woods that had by now matured. Some of the old men and women made extra travois on which to pack the cured meats and berries when the time came to move camp. Bows, backed with sinew for added strength, were made from chokecherry, ash, and scrub oak. The grip was wrapped with a piece of buckskin and on some bows a sharpened prong made from elk horn was attached to one end to be used in battle as a bayonet. Arrows made of June-berry (Saskatoon) and chokecherry were of different styles. Two half feathers of large hawks or eagles were generally used to fletch the arrows.

Fall was the principal time to hunt bison, especially during October when the animals were very fat. The fall hunt was important in order to obtain the meat to be dried and stored for winter. Hides from four-year-old cows killed in November were at their best for new lodge coverings.

The northern Assiniboine were noted for their successful bison traps and the site for the trap was selected with great care. At the mouth of a ravine, a circular stockade against which loose brush was piled was built. A tree was left in the centre as a 'medicine pole'. Extending from the entrance, the builders erected two diverging lines composed of large bundles of willows tied together and set upright at intervals. These two fences led away from the steep sides of the ravine and gradually widened out for about a mile. In winter, in place of willows, piles of snow were used. A rather large lodge was pitched near the pound and here the master of the ceremonial hunt and his invited helpers— medicine men who had power from the sacred bison, men who, through visions, had been promised help from the bison for sacrifices that they had made to them in times past— took their place. They spent four days and nights in meditation, fasting and singing bison songs. At the back of the lodge was placed a bison's skull and dried sweet grass was kept smouldering in front of it throughout the entire ceremony. The people always relied on the master of the hunt and the medicine men to call the bison into the pound.



Ring-and-pin game and bone handled knife.

After the ceremony, well known hunters were invited to the lodge and instructed to find a herd. Once the herd had been located, the hunters drove them into the enclosure. Before the bison entered, the medicine man who was in charge of the ceremonial hunt went out on foot to meet the animals and to sing the bison song to them, after which he led them into the corral from which he escaped through a small opening at the rear. Once the herd was inside, the entrance was closed with logs and brush and the bison then killed with arrows. The trap might be used many times throughout the winter if bison were plentiful in the neighbourhood.

With the end of fall the Assiniboine, if the hunt had been successful, were ready for the long, cold winter of the northern Plains and a new yearly cycle.

Like other Indians of Canada, the Assiniboine are trying to find their proper place in Euro-Canadian society. No doubt they will do so but some on occasion feel that they would rather sever as many ties as possible with that society and lead lives of their own choosing. Several times small groups have made the attempt, moving into the foothills of the Rockies. ◆

Fool dance masks.

Jack Craig in 1906.

JACK CRAIG AND THE ALASKA BOUNDARY SURVEY

BY CHRISTINE W. BILLMAN

The author, a niece of J. D. Craig, drew upon his papers and snapshots in preparing this article.

Monument on Unuk River.

WHEN IT CAME TO TALKING about his work for the government, Jack Craig said little, but after his death in 1936 his collection of newspaper clippings, reports, and books of snapshots revealed something of the part he played in establishing the permanent boundary between Alaska and Canada.

John Davidson Craig, B.Sc., D.L.S., was a native-born Canadian, but the burr in his speech was that of his Scottish forbears. He entered the office of the Surveyor General in 1900, and spent part of the next five years as a Dominion land surveyor, engaged on surveys in Western Canada, including those in the Lesser Slave Lake country, the Crow's Nest Pass, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

In 1905 he was transferred to the staff of the International Boundary Commission, where he served as Canadian attaché to the United States party engaged in the survey of the boundary between southeast Alaska and British Columbia during that summer.

Since 1867, when the United States bought Alaska from Russia, there had been some contention between Canada and the United States over the boundary of the Alaskan panhandle, although both countries had agreed that the limits cited in the treaty of 1825, between Great Britain and Russia, would be the accepted eastern Alaskan boundary.

This treaty stated that the Russians claimed the land from the southern point of Prince of Wales Island, which lies in the parallel of 54°40′ north latitude and between the 132nd and 133rd degree of west longitude, that the said line ascended to the north along Portland Channel to 56° north latitude. From there it would follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast to the intersection of the 141st meridian, west longitude, and from the point of intersection would follow along this as far as the Frozen Ocean. It stipulated that Prince of Wales Island belonged wholly to Russia and that wherever the summits of the mountains along the southern panhandle were more than 10 marine leagues (34.5 statute miles) from the ocean, the limit between the two countries should be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the coast and never exceed the distance of 10 marine leagues.

A more definite location of the boundary was urged by both countries to avoid future complications. Agreement on the northern portion of the line from Mount St Elias along the 141st meridian to the Arctic Ocean had presented no problems and by a convention of 1892 a joint survey of the boundary south of Mount St Elias was authorized.

Then the Klondike rush of '98 made Canada anxious to secure a port of entry to the Yukon at the head of Lynn Canal, and Canada laid claims to the ports of Dyea and Skagway. The dispute was referred to an Anglo-American Joint High Commission; Canada failed to secure a port, and the summits of White Pass and Chilkoot Pass were provisionally established as boundary points.

The necessity for final settlement of the boundary led to the appointment in 1903 of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal consisting of three British and Canadian, and three United States jurists. The questions before the tribunal related entirely to the line from Prince of Wales Island to Mount St Elias. The treaty had failed to account for the fact that the Portland Canal lay about fifty miles due east of the southern point of Prince of Wales Island. The Canadians claimed that the treaty did not provide for going east this distance, and the Portland Channel really meant the present Clarence Strait. Also, it was not established whether the ten marine leagues inland should be measured from the heads of inlets, the general coast line, or the outer fringes of the islands. It was also practically impossible to fix a boundary in the mountains referred to as parallel to the coast.

The decisions made by this tribunal were that England and Canada would drop their claim that Clarence Strait was the Portland Channel, the boundary should run ten marine leagues from the sea and around all deep inlets. In other words, Canada would not secure a Pacific port north of 54°40′, thus destroying hope for a port at the head of the Lynn Canal and cutting off the Canadian hinterland from the north Pacific Ocean for 500 miles.

Laying out of the boundary on the ground by Canadian and American surveyors began in 1904 and occupied twelve field seasons. Jack Craig represented the Canadian government the summer of 1905, when the area from the Portland Canal to Unuk River was calibrated by a party of American surveyors.

He met the Americans in Seattle, Washington, and from there they went north by passenger steamer to Ketchikan, an Alaskan fishing village in the panhandle, and the nearest stop to the particular boundary area to be surveyed. From Ketchikan, the party travelled by steamer to the mouth of Unuk River, arriving on May 16th. The next day a gasoline launch towed their loaded boats to the dock of the Unuk River Mining and Trading Company at Dailey's Landing. They pitched their first camp here, the men little realizing that high tide would wash them out and they would have to move to higher ground the next day.

Late in July the main camp was made about twenty-five miles above the mouth of the river and one-half mile below the boundary. From this camp operations were carried on in the boundary area. A fly camp was pitched at timber line on the slope of Mount Stoeckl, from which the peak was climbed on August 15th and a signal erected during a blinding snowstorm. The boundary vista, a twenty-foot skyline trail, was cut down the south side and over the tops of the ridges between Unuk River and Boulder Creek, and six aluminium-bronze monuments were set. Horses provided transportation for the equipment; the men carried back-packs. The boundary was irregular; plotting it was hazardous.

In the meantime a sub-party continued southward from a camp at timber line above the head of Lake Creek, a tributary of Unuk River. When it became too dangerous for them to continue they joined the main party at work on the vista.

The main camp on the Unuk River in 1905.

Drilling on Mt Cote to set monument near the Stikine.

High tide at Dailey's Landing.

Boulder Creek south of Unuk River.

On September 22nd the outfit of the party was started moving down the river and a steamer was chartered for their transportation back to Ketchikan. From there they left for Seattle on October 9th.

When he left for the boundary in the spring of 1906, Jack Craig took with him a group of Canadian surveyors. They were to work in conjunction with the American party, surveying the Alaska and British Columbia line on the Whiting, Bradfield, Stikine, and Iskut Rivers.

From Vancouver the party journeyed to Juneau by steamer and then sailed on a chartered launch, the *E.D.M.*, on May 23rd, and after a seven-hour trip landed at the mouth of the Whiting River. They ascended the river in canoes for fifteen miles to establish their first camp at Snettisham Lakes. The weather was warm and sultry and the flies so thick that many of the men wore netting over their heads for protection.

Early in July the camp was moved another ten miles up the river to the boundary. From there, the work was extended north and south. Northerly, it connected with that of another party working on Wright Glacier.

Here their line went from one mountain top to another, going across the timber line of one mountain, crossing a stream, and up the side of the next mountain. The party maintained the twenty-foot-wide vista cut through the timber and set up cement boundary markers.

Towards the end of the season a base line was measured on the river flats and the boundary line across the valley was temporarily marked by a five-foot wide transit line and wooden posts on each side of the river.

Late in September the party moved to the mouth of the river to connect with the stations prepared by the United States representatives at the beginning of the season. They returned to Juneau on October 12th.

In 1907 the parties took a steamer to Wrangell, then used as an outfitting centre for miners. A tug was chartered which towed two large scows with the equipment to the north fork of Bradfield River on June 5th. A preliminary camp was established just above the tide flats. From here supplies were taken up the river to the base camp about twelve miles from the river's mouth. About five miles up, the river was completely blocked by a log jam. Axes and saws were used to cut through the jam, a dangerous operation in the swift water.

Mount Cloud, about four miles south of the camp, was the first peak to be climbed, and with the knowledge gained from the ascent the season's work was planned.

Later in the season a camp was established at the mouth of the river, the base line that had been laid out in the spring was staked and measured, and the triangulation completed. On October 17th the party returned to Wrangell and sailed south a few days later.

In 1908 the party organized to work in the Iskut River region arrived at Wrangell on May 7th. Unable to obtain better transportation, they paddled up the coast in three canoes to Stikine River and thence to the Iskut. Six Indians, acting as pilots, accompanied them in a large

The flies were bad at Snettisham Lakes.

The survey party back-packing to Mount Cloud in 1907 to accomplish the triangulation after overcoming the obstruction on Bradfield River.

canoe, carrying the bulk of the outfit and supplies, some two and a half tons. They arrived at the mouth of the river two days after leaving Wrangell.

Only the lower reaches of the Iskut lie within the boundary area, and little was known of actual conditions on the river. On May 15th the first trip was made up the Iskut and a cache was established about seven miles from its mouth. In seven of these steps, each one taking about a week, the main camp was established.

The weather was very unfavourable and showed no improvement on the completion of the vista cutting, so the whole party started downstream, reaching the Stikine on October 12th, and Wrangell two days later, whence they sailed to Victoria.

The field season of 1909 saw Jack Craig with the surveyors engaged in demarcation of the 141st meridian boundary between the Yukon Territory and Alaska, from Mount St Elias to the Arctic Ocean, which had been begun in 1907. The following year Jack Craig was put in charge of all Canadian parties, a position he held for the four seasons required to finish the survey. Thomas Riggs, who recounted some of his experiences in *The Beaver* (September 1945), was appointed by the United States as his American counterpart.

It was decided that during 1909 a special effort should be made to carry the surveying work as far as the Natazhat Range, about fifteen miles south of the White River. This called for a large increase in the size of the parties and the number of horses necessary for transportation. It was also decided to increase the length of the working season by going overland in early spring by the winter trail from Whitehorse to the head of White River to be ready for work as soon as weather and snow conditions would permit.

Supplies were forwarded by contract from Whitehorse during the winter to a main base at Canyon City, and a smaller base about one hundred miles farther on.

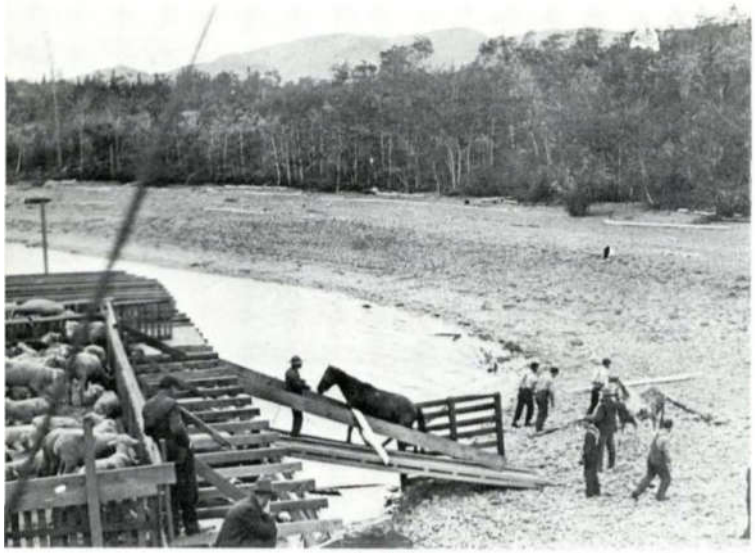
There were 51 men and 83 horses besides transport teams and three drivers who handled supplies for immediate use. Wagons were used to Kluane Lake which was crossed on sleighs over the ice. From there on, everything was packed on horses.

At the close of the season the survey of the boundary was practically complete from the Yukon River to Mount Natazhat, with the exception of about fifty miles of vista to cut. This work was done in 1910 by a Canadian party with a United States attaché, the main base of supplies being on Ladue Creek.

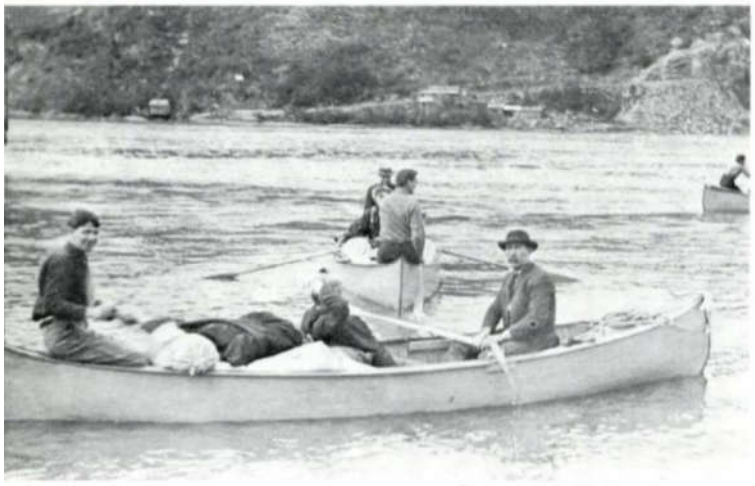
In 1911 the survey of the 141st meridian through to the Arctic Ocean was begun, using Rampart House on the Porcupine River as a base of operations. The men and horses went overland from Whitehorse to Carmacks to embark for Dawson, as had been done in 1910. Supplies were bought and a contract made with the Northern Navigation Company to land these at Rampart House as early as possible.

To facilitate the handling of supplies from the base, each government had a launch built at Whitehorse, to use distributing supplies to sub-bases, particularly where the line crosses the Old Crow River, about 65 miles north of Rampart House, and up the Black River near the line for the monumenting and vista-cutting parties working south of the Porcupine. Each launch could handle a barge carrying from eight to ten tons, and in addition, two other launches were chartered for the season.

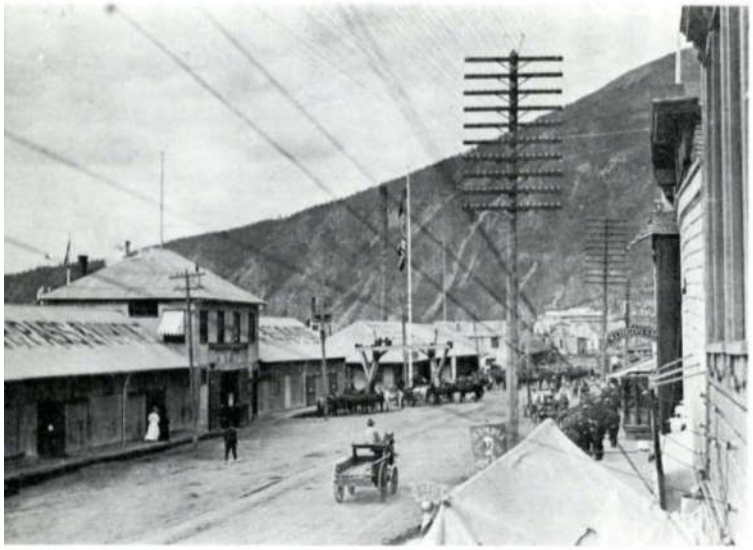
In spite of these preparations, there were many setbacks. The ice on Lake Laberge failed just when it was



Pack horses at Lower Laberge in 1909.



Down the Yukon in canoes.



Main Street, Dawson, in 1909.

most needed, leaving considerable freight stranded at the upper end. Another lot was caught halfway down the lake and had to be cached there until the lake was clear, while the freight which did cross the lake had to be landed so hastily that it was difficult to identify. Supplies and equipment delayed, sufficient purchases to last until the main shipment arrived were made in Dawson when the parties arrived there on May 26th.

The next day the *St Michael* sailed with the first consignment, considerable stock, and a quantity of supplies. A Canadian party was landed at the mouth of Kandik River, up which they proceeded in poling boats to the line. This party continued the monumenting and vista-cutting north from where it had stopped in 1910. During the season they worked north as far as Salmon-trout River.

The other parties, with the remaining stock and about fifty tons of freight and feed, arrived at Rampart House from Dawson in early June.

A few days of confusion followed. The 150 horses were shod, outfits allotted and supplies distributed to the various parties. The next week they got away for their work north and south of the river.

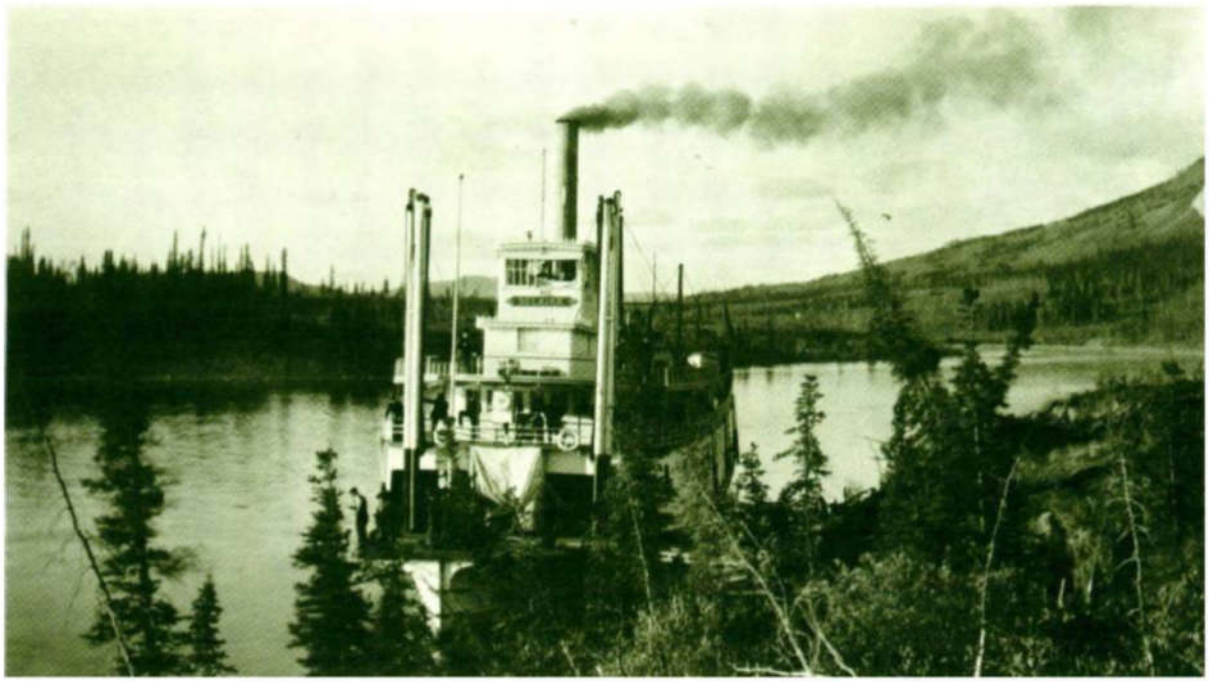
The freight still expected arrived at Fort Yukon on June 13th on the *Tanana*, which left for Rampart House with about 80 tons of freight on board, towing a barge loaded with about 225 tons. The low water caused trouble and the barge had to be dropped the second day out. The *Tanana* continued as far upstream as possible and finally the freight was landed, the steamer returning for another load from the barge. Relaying between this point and Rampart House, the launches succeeded in getting up a considerable quantity of supplies.

In spite of all the inconveniences, which included an outbreak of smallpox at Rampart House, it was a very successful season, and the line-projection party had succeeded in getting its work to within forty miles of the Arctic coast.

In 1912 the party went to the scene of operations from Dawson, leaving on two steamers down the Yukon and transferring to the *Tanana* to go up the Porcupine to Rampart House. The trip took less than five days. By June 5th all parties, which included 84 men, 150 horses and 50 dogs had left for the scene of their season's work. They were followed by the joint inspection and super-vision party, under the two chiefs. These people spent a day at Old Crow River, seeing that the launches were being handled to the best advantage and putting things in such shape that this point could be used as the main base of supplies for the season.

The party got through to the Arctic Ocean about July 5th and found it frozen solid. In less than a month the ice was broken up and drifting along the shore. Some days only the blue water of the Arctic stretched before them.

No timber was found within thirty-five miles of the coast, except willow along the rivers, not thicker than a man's thumb. The driftwood that floated down from the



The 'Selkirk' of the White Pass and Yukon Route at Lower Laberge.

Mackenzie was used for fire wood. During the summer it was warm with the wind off shore, but became cold when the breeze was from the north.

Both Jack Craig and Tom Riggs went swimming in the Arctic, just to say they had done it. They swam between cakes of ice, but not for long and had lots of blankets to wrap around them when they came out.

The inspection party set the last point on the line on the Arctic coast on July 18th, to the accompaniment of appropriate ceremonies and the unfurling of the standards of the United States and Great Britain. They started their trip back on August 6th and walked 300 miles to Rampart House, reaching there three weeks later.

In 1913 the finishing touches were given to the section of the line between the Yukon River and Mount Natazhat. A joint inspection party, headed by the two chiefs, sailed from Whitehorse to the boundary after the opening of navigation on Lake Laberge. Caches had been established during the winter so it was possible to take the complete camp outfit along at one loading of the horses. The last monument was set on a northerly spur of the Natazhat Range on August 21st.

The same summer several members of the party attempted to reach the summit of Mount St Elias, since it had been determined that the 141st meridian south from Mount Natazhat struck the St Elias range west of the summit. The boundary was to be drawn from Mount St Elias to the 141st meridian on such a course parallel to the coast as should be found most suitable in the topographic conditions. It was for the purpose of determining these conditions that this party entered the St Elias region.

From a camp established at 13,500 feet a Canadian party, with instruments, climbed to a small spur on the west side of Mount St Elias at 16,500 feet before being forced back by a storm. Their camera station at the highest point was only 128.2 meters west of the 141st meridian. It was decided that the point of intersection with the Alaska coast boundary be on the meridian at the latitude of this station, 60°18′22″.29 North.

This season of 1913 saw the completion of the field work on the 141st meridian and the official boundary between Alaska and Canada was established—808 miles from Cape Muzon in the south to Mount St Elias and 645 miles on the 141st meridian.

In the early spring of 1920, Jack Craig returned to the northwest with his party of surveyors to more clearly define and mark the boundary in the area of the Portland Canal. This was done because of the great mining rush which had followed the opening up of the silver fields around Stewart.

In speaking of the silver findings, he said that it was a wise move to have marked the boundary in the years gone by, since about ninety per cent. of the finds were on the Canadian side of the boundary. If the survey had waited until after the silver had been found, it might have made agreement on the line more difficult.

This summer of 1920 was not the end of Jack Craig's northern experiences; in 1923 and 1924 he headed a party to the Arctic Archipelago, but it was the end of his surveying on the Alaskan boundary. ◆

An Arbitrary Boundary

The Hon. P. H. Gordon, SM, CBE, QC, compiled these notes from personal recollections of the Alaska boundary dispute and from papers he received from the estate of Major General A. Bowen Perry, CMG, in 1971. They throw some light on the settlement of the boundary before the work of the Canadian and American surveyors to mark the line on the ground was begun.

THE KLONDIKE GOLD DISCOVERY in the Yukon came in 1896. I well remember the rush from the prairies but cannot remember a single man returning with any money. For those going by sea the port of Skagway on the Lynn Canal was the port of entry and it was claimed by the Americans. Efforts were made to have this and other points settled amicably but the Americans would make no offers on the Alaska boundary question.

By 1898 the gold rush was in full swing and the Canadian government learnt that it was the intention of the American government to occupy and hold the White and Chilkoot Passes, reached by Skagway and Dyea respectively. Ottawa had to act quickly and the only force available was the North West Mounted Police.

At this time the boundary between the Alaska Panhandle and Canada had not been settled. Superintendent Perry, as he then was, was sent to Skagway.

A. Bowen Perry had been the youngest of the first eighteen cadets to enter Royal Military College in 1876. After a brilliant start he was forced by an injury to his leg to leave the army. Later he signed on with the NWMP and subsequently rose to be Commissioner of the Force in 1900 until his retirement in 1923.

Perry was given instructions to have these two passes occupied by armed men and to establish a customs office at the summit of White Pass. The office had to be more permanent than a canvas tent, so Superintendent Perry instructed Inspector D'Arcy Strickland to proceed to Bennett with 18 constables under Sergeant Greene and to have them camp at Crater Lake until they should receive orders from Inspector Belcher, who was to take charge of the Chilkoot Pass. They were to carry arms and equipment and have them always with them. They also had to carry sufficient carpenters' tools, nails, hinges and glass to erect this small shanty. As this was to be above the timberline, wood for fuel as well as construction had to be carried to the site which was selected near water running into Canadian territory. While the shanty was being erected the men not engaged in building were to be employed bringing up firewood and timber and supplies for at least six months. The men were to camp close to the post when built and to wear their uniforms and carry arms. Half the supply of ammunition was to be kept at White Pass and half at Chilkoot. Horses had been taken to the summit for hauling timber and firewood. Forage for them had also to be carried up. All this had to be done quickly and secretly. The men going up and down for supplies were to go in small groups so as not to cause any alarm. The post was to be placed to catch winter as well as summer travel. Full instructions were given as to customs duties that were collectable and these provided that American relief supplies were to go through duty free.

After the camps and custom posts were fully established news came through as to what had happened to the American force that was being sent to occupy these selfsame sites. Their boat had become firmly grounded on a sandbar and had to wait for a tide and tugboats to be freed. It was a triumph for the NWMP.

This was one of the incidents that compelled Canada and the United States to take steps to have the boundary between Canada and Alaska finally determined. I am very familiar with this episode, being frequently at the home of Mr Christopher Robinson, KC, who was the leading counsel for the Dominion in the arbitration.

This boundary question could have been settled prior to 1896. Mr Elihu Root in his Miscellaneous Addresses stated as follows on page 154:

> The Alaska boundary question could have been settled without difficulty at any time for many years; there was no controversy about it, and it failed of settlement because our Congress was unwilling to make an appropriation to survey the boundary; and through that fatuous refusal to dispose of the question when there was no controversy, there came a most critical situation, the settlement of which was exceedingly difficult.

There was agreement as to the old Russian American boundary on the 141st Meridian, but Canada was interested in a port on the Lynn Canal which hinged on the interpretation of a boundary ten marine leagues from the ocean. Skagway and Dyea were far more than ten marine leagues from the coast, if 'coast' were taken to mean the entrance to Lynn Canal. On the other hand, if the northern end of the canal was the 'coast' ten marine leagues in a straight line would extend across the pass to Lake Bennet.

Hasty establishment of posts by the NWMP just below the summits of the passes had put Canada in possession.

Failing to reach agreement on the boundary, the British Commissioners asked for an arbitration which Mr Justice Holmes, then ambassador from the United States to Britain, warmly supported. Theodore Roosevelt was president of the United States and would not listen to him. Finally in 1903 the American Senate agreed to a convention for the appointment of a tribunal of 'six impartial jurists of repute' and that they should judicially consider the points submitted to them. It also provided that 'each of them shall first subscribe an oath that he would impartially consider the arguments and evidence presented and decide thereupon according to his true judgment'. When President Roosevelt appointed as 'impartial jurists of repute' Elihu Root, Secretary of War, and Senators Henry Cabot Lodge, and George Turner from the State of Washington, a veritable storm broke out in Canada and Britain. Had Canada been well-advised at the time, it would not have appointed anyone to the tribunal. Two years before, Senator Lodge had declared that 'a more manufactured and baseless Claim' than that of Canada had never been set up. Senator Turner could not act impartially as he was firmly committed to the interests of Seattle which had everything to lose in case of an award adverse to the claims of the United States.

The British appointments were the Chief Justice of England, Lord Alverstone, Sir Louise Jetté, Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, and Allen B. Aylesworth, a Toronto lawyer. Lord Alverstone frequently expressed himself favourably towards the Canadian position although it was certainly not open and shut. It was at this point that President Roosevelt did a very questionable thing. He wrote to Justice Holmes, his ambassador in London, telling him he might show the letter 'privately and unofficially' to Mr Joseph Chamberlain. In this letter he wrote:

> If there is a disagreement I wish it to be distinctly understood not only that there will be no arbitration of the matter, but that in my address to Congress I shall take a position which will prevent any possibility of arbitration hereafter . . . to run the line, as we claim it, by our own people without any further regard to the attitude of England and Canada.

So far as I know this letter was not given the public until 1925 when the 'Roosevelt-Lodge Correspondence' was published.

When the award came down and it was know that Lord Alverstone had completely reversed his position and found in favour of the United States, there was a violent storm raised in Canada. The two Canadian representatives on the tribunal recorded a strong dissenting opinion. Even that cool-headed statesman Sir Wilfrid Laurier was moved to say in Parliament:

> I have often regretted, and never more than on the present occasion, that we are living beside a great neighbour . . . who I believe I can say without being unfriendly to them are very grasping in their national actions, and who are determined on every occasion to get the best in any agreement which they make. I have often regretted also that while they are a great and powerful nation, we are only a small colony, a growing colony, but still a colony.

It took a long time for the resentment in Canada to die down. After the last war there was a movement started with the object of returning to Canada the Alaska Panhandle which had been awarded to the United States by this board of arbitrators but, like so many generous movements, after a short and sterile life it died a natural death. ◆

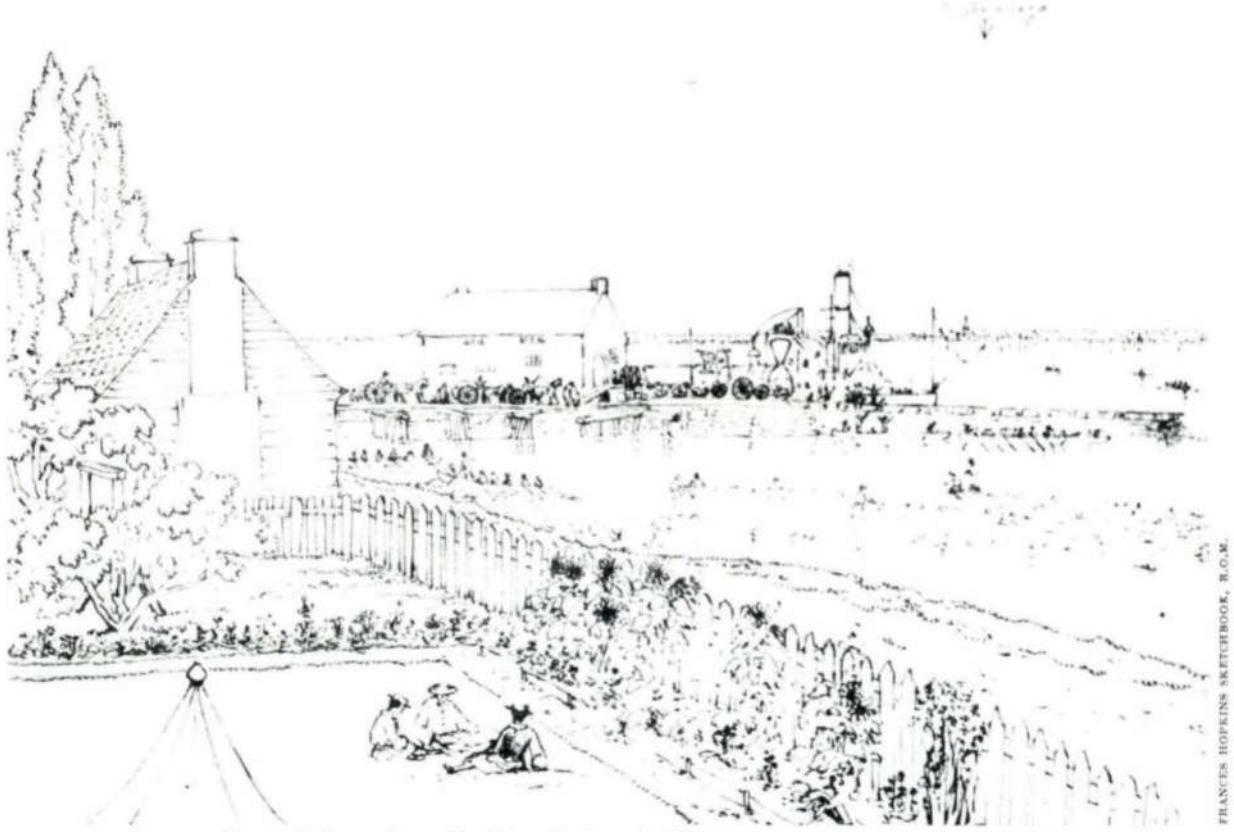
The United States international boundary survey team in 1905 with J. D. Craig, Canadian representative, holding his country's flag.

George Falconer photo

In the country of the maple
autumn glows with vivid brilliance.

Wild rice in autumn is ripe for gathering in the Ojibwa's softly gliding canoe.

Fred Morgan photo



FRANCES HOPKINS SKETCHBOOK, R.O.M.

From their garden at Lachine, Quebec, the Hopkins family would hear the songs of voyageurs as they passed on their way to and from western posts.

THE HOPKINS BOOK OF CANOE SONGS

WITH THE HOPKINS SKETCH BOOK in the Royal Ontario Museum there is a book of canoe songs bearing the signature of Edward M. Hopkins: thirty pages of verse with a line or two of melody at the opening of each of nine songs. There are no background notes—although four are marked with an X of unknown significance—but it is assumed that these songs were sung by 'Des hommes choisis! les plus beaux chanteurs du monde!' who carried Governor George Simpson on his journeys to the fur trade posts of the northwest.

Many old chansons from Normandy—'A la claire fontaine', 'Rose blanche'—were popular canoe songs. Those in the Hopkins book are not well known and it may have been for this reason that an effort was made to record and preserve them.

They would be rendered at a lively tempo for the 'canot du gouverneur' travelled light, cutting 'through the waters as a bird the air—eight miles an hour!'. At times the crew took sixty fast strokes to the minute. The songs are repetitive, as are those described by J. G. Kohl who cut off 'half a yard' of the canoe song 'White Rose' to illustrate his book published in 1860. 'They must last, if possible, for a whole river, or at least a lake, —' he was told by voyageurs in the Lake Superior area. To vary the rendition the verse was often sung as a solo and the whole crew, usually twenty-some paddlers in two canoes, joined in the chorus.

The rousing songs contributed much to the excitement and spectacle of the Governor's arrival at a trading post. On occasion passengers, unaccustomed to the 'full throated' voyageur style, may have wished for a quieter mode of travel. One such was botanist David Douglas who wrote in his diary, April 19th, 1827: 'Intended to have arranged a few words of the Chenook language but was molested out of my life by the men singing their boat songs'.

Edwd Jn. Hopkins
1567
Quand j'étois chez mon père
Petite et jeunette
M'envoie à la fontaine
Pour pocher de poisson
La violette dondaine La violette dondé
Mon père et ma mère
N'ont que moi d'enfant
Encore ils m'ont fait faire
Un bon Cotillon blanc
Je n'aimerai jamais que à l'âge de quinze ans

Hopkins signature on the first page of the song book, and the melody and opening verse of two songs.

1

Mon pere il m'a marié
O! qu'il est mal aisé
Un bon Viellard il m'a donné
Tu n'entends pas l'usage
O! qu'il est mal aisé d'etre amoureux et Sage

2

Un bon Viellard il m'a donné
O! qu'il est mal aisé
Qui n'a ni maille ni denier
Tu n'entends pas l'usage
O! qu'il est mal aisé d'etre amoureux et Sage

3

Qui n'a ni maille ni denier
O! qu'il est mal aisé
—La main droite tient un verd pomier
Tu n'entends pas l'usage
O! qu'il est mal aisé d'etre amoureux et Sage

4

La main droite tient un verd pomier
O! qu'il est mal aisé
Avec—il me bat les cotés
Tu n'entends pas l'usage
O! qu'il est mal aisé d'etre amoureux et Sage

5

Avec—il me bat les cotés
O! qu'il est mal aisé
Mon bon viellard si vous me battez
Tu n'entends pas l'usage
O! qu'il est mal aisé d'etre amoureux et Sage

6

Mon bon viellard si vous me battez
O! qu'il est mal aisé
Je m'en irai, je vous laisserai
Tu n'entends pas l'usage
O! qu'il est mal aisé d'etre amoureux et Sage

7

Je m'en irai je vous laisserai
O! qu'il est mal aisé
Je m'en irai aux bois jouer
Tu n'entends pas l'usage
O! qu'il est mal aisé d'etre amoureux et Sage

8

Je m'en irai aux bois jouer
O! qu'il est mal aisé
Avec ces gentils Ecoliers
Tu n'entends pas l'usage
O! qu'il est mal aisé d'etre amoureux et Sage

9

Avec ces gentil Ecoliers
O! qu'il est mal aisé
Ils m'apprendront, je leurs apprendrait
Tu n'entends pas l'usage
O! qu'il est mal aisé d'etre amoureux et Sage

10

Ils m'apprendront, je leurs apprendrait
O! qu'il est mal aisé
Le jeu de Carte, aussi de dé
Tu n'entends pas l'usage
O! qu'il est mal aisé d'etre amoureux et Sage

11

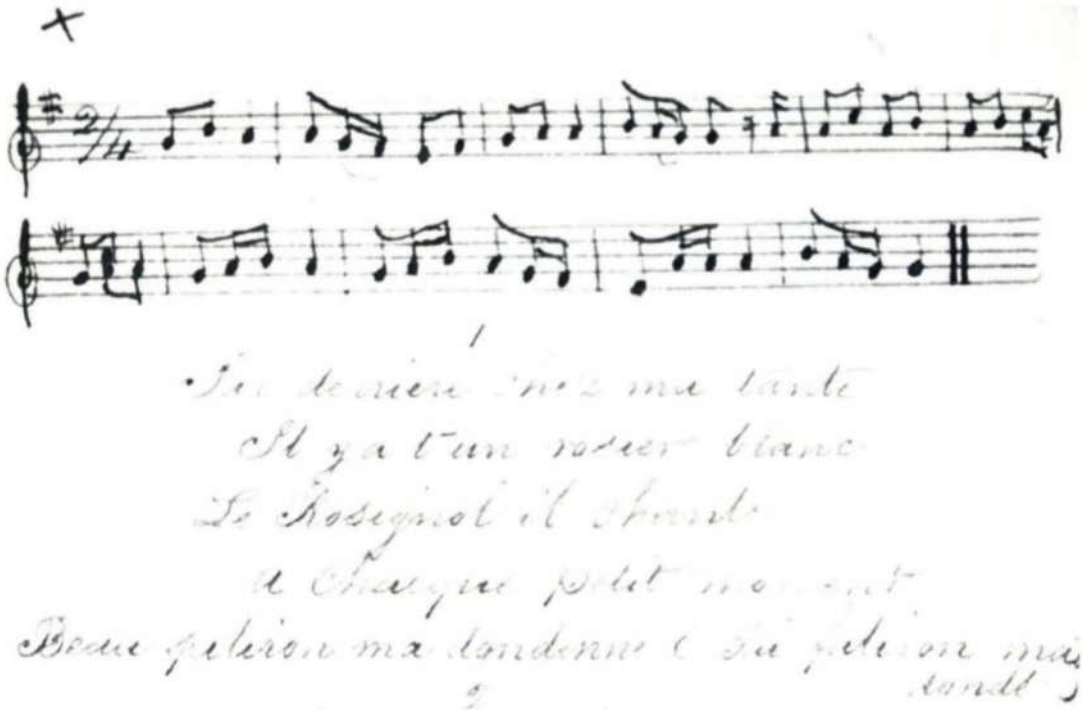
Le jou de Cartes aussi de dé
O! qu'il est mal aisé
Le jeu de Dames apres soupé
Tu n'entends pas l'usage
O! qu'il est mal aisé d'etre amoureux et Sage

12

Le jeu de Dames aprés Soupé
O! qu'il est mal aisé
Le jeu de nouveaux mariés
Tu n'entends pas l'usage
O! qu'il est mal aisé d'etre amoureux et Sage

A song from the Hopkins book, transcribed to illustrate length and the repetition of phrases, and on the right, a complete page.

An untitled and undated sketch by Frances Hopkins in the album at the Public Archives of Canada.



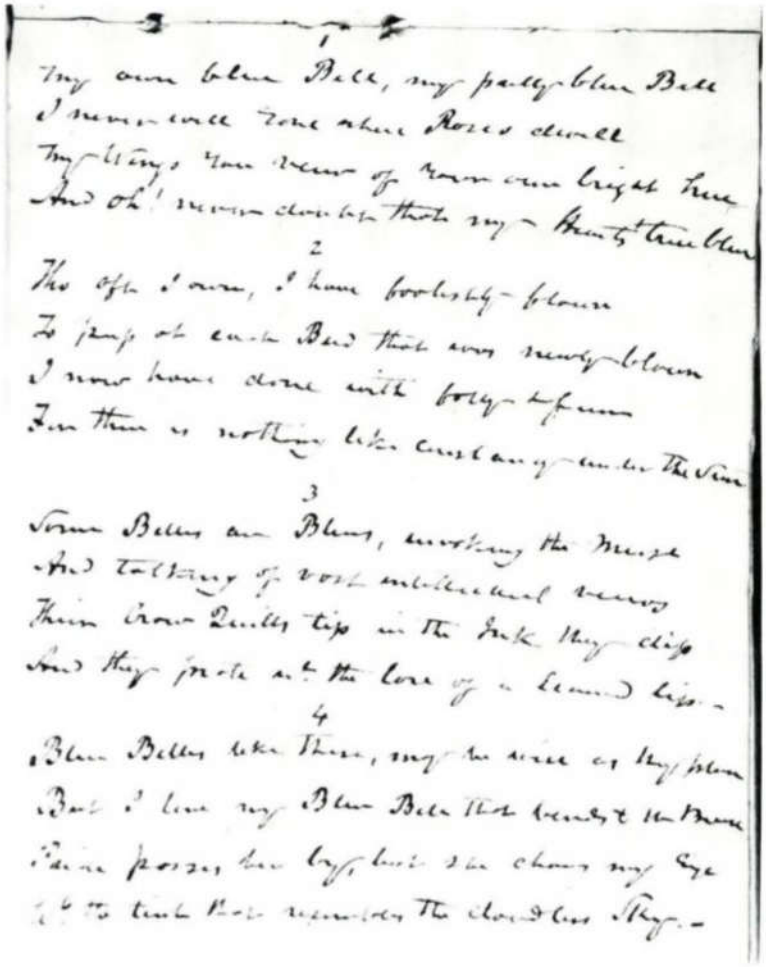
BLUE BELL

BY GEORGE SIMPSON (?)

An unexpected treasure found in the Edward M. Hopkins book of canoe songs was a set of verses in the handwriting of Governor George Simpson. This was identified by Alice M. Johnson who, as archivist for the Hudson's Bay Comany, had worked extensively with Simpson documents.

There is no indication when this was written by Simpson but the regularity of the script would suggest that it was before his sight began to fail. The watermark, examined by Mary Allodi, research assistant at the Royal Ontario Museum, indicates that the paper was produced between 1805 and 1845. Simpson might therefore have written his piece at any time in his North American career. Possibly the page was overlooked when the note book was taken over by Hopkins, who dated it in the sixties (after Simpson's death). But the songs are written in a 'clerk's hand' and may have been recorded for Simpson, the book later passing to Hopkins, whose signature and date appear on the fly-leaf. One may speculate that the verses were written for Frances, whom Simpson married in 1830, when he officially finished with 'folly and fun', but they might have been directed elsewhere.

Anyway, here are the verses, in Simpson's hand and, for clarity, a printed transcript. The facsimile page, reproduced by courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, is reduced in size from the six-inch width of the original.



1

My own blue Bell, my pretty blue Bell
I never will rove where Roses dwell
My Wings you view of your own bright hue
And oh! never doubt that my Heart's true blue

2

Tho oft I own, I have foolishly flown
To peep at each Bud that was newly blown
I now have done with folly & fun
For there is nothing like constancy under the Sun.

3

Some Belles are Blues, invoking the Muse
And talking of vast intellectual views
Their Crow Quills tip in the Ink they dip
And they prate w[it]h the lore of a learned lip.—

4

Blue Belles like these, may be wise as they please
But I love my Blue Bell that bends to the Breeze
Pride passes her by, but she charms my Eye
W[it]h the tint that resembles the cloudless Sky.—

NORTHERN BOOKS

THE CANADIAN ROCKIES
Early Travels and Explorations

By Esther Fraser, Hurtig, Edmonton, 1969, 252 pages, map, illus., $7.95

Reviewed by Shirlee A. Smith

A book on man's explorations and travels generally excites the imagination, and this book dealing with the Canadian Rockies is one of hardships, drama and excitement.

Mrs Fraser has taken the achievements of early transmontane travellers, most of them from the 19th century, and brought together a descriptive chapter on each one: George Simpson, David Thompson, John Palliser and James Hector, the Earl of Southesk, Milton and Cheadle are here. She has also included some of the early ascents, such as George Kinney's climb of Mount Robson.

Many Canadians have been awed by the arduous canoe travels of the fur traders, but it was the search for, and travel through, mountain passes that tested the strength, patience and endurance of the toughest travellers, including Governor George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company.

One senses from the onset of the book that the author knows her subject, and her innate feeling for the terrain is obvious on p. 21 where she describes David Thompson's crossing of the Athabasca Pass:

> Thirteen snowshoed men and eight dogsleds crossed the main Athabasca and turned west and south up the Whirlpool River. At last they felt the first breath of warm air from the Pacific, breaking a month of frigid temperatures, but soon they found themselves trudging through seven feet of heavy wet snow as gales raged around the hidden peaks. The dogs could scarcely drag the sleds; the weary men shouldered heavier loads and trekked slowly upward, for thirty-six miles. At night they huddled beside a few stunted trees.

The photographs are well chosen and range from portraits of Jim Simpson and Fred Brewster, well-known mountain guides, to the stately peaks of Mount Robson and Mount Assiniboine.

Mrs Fraser has helped to fill a definite gap in Canadian writing but one is unfortunately saddened to find the book marred by poor editing. Many of the quotes are incorrectly transcribed and in a nine line quote on p. 5 from George Simpson's *Narrative of a Journey Round the World* there are seven mistakes. There are also a few minor historical inaccuracies such as the one on p. 67 where it is stated that the Hudson's Bay Company relinquished Vancouver Island in 1849.

Regardless of these cross-grained comments this reviewer is most appreciative of the book, which also has a good map and an index. No longer will researchers have to spend hours going through many files, periodicals, and books for information on early mountain travel. Mrs Fraser has accomplished a difficult task. She has written an informative book that is also a readable one.

Mrs Smith is the Hudson's Bay Company librarian.

PORTRAIT OF CANADA

By Jay and Audrey Walz; photographs by John de Visser. American Heritage Press, N.Y.; McGraw-Hill Canada, Toronto, 1970. 398 pages, illus. $7.95.

Reviewed by Lyn Harrington

The correspondents for the *New York Times* who wrote this readable interpretation of Canada and the Canadians for American readers, have done their homework better than most. They lived several years in Ottawa, covering a variety of news stories which took them off the beaten path, as on the Governor-General's tour of the Northwest Territories. It is thus better-balanced than most outsiders' books about Canada, even where it leans on tourist bureau information.

It is much more than travel or a quick history of Canada, and attempts reasonably successfully to explain why Canadians now and then bristle at Americans. Throughout, the authors see Canada through friendly American eyes. Now that the subject is beginning to interest Americans, they will scarcely find a more readable, attractive, up-to-date book on the subject. I hope it will be read by many thousands.

Canadians, too, will learn a good deal about their country. You learn that Donald A. Smith's nickname was 'Labrador' but not why. That the American General Montgomery who fell trying to capture Quebec was actually an Englishman. It is an author's prerogative to highlight one aspect over another. Yet it disturbs me to have Canada referred to frequently as 'The Big Land', and the west as 'The Big Lonely'. Also new to me and even more uncomfortable is the term 'British California' and the inferred separatism of British Columbia is vastly exaggerated. I'm miffed, too, that Canada appears to have no writers or artists worthy of mention outside 'the French Fact'.

There are ambiguities. Though the Trans-Canada Highway was not completed until 1960, we drove west above Lake Superior on Highway 11 where 'this strata of Ontario couldn't even be crossed by a car in summer' (p. 228) thirteen years before that. 'Free medical services . . . but United States capital loans pay for it' (p. 109)—it isn't free, and the 'loans' are only routine sales of government bonds. An H B C manager doesn't 'take furs in payment' (p. 258)—he buys them in a cash transaction. One could wish that all references to the Hudson's Bay Company had been vetted for tangled statements and inaccuracies.

In a book of such length, there are bound to be minor mistakes, *e.g.*, the Province of Alberta took its name from Queen Victoria's daughter, not her husband; Moose Factory is in Ontario, not northern Manitoba; the Hudson's Bay Company never owned all of Canada except some eastern settlements—outside Rupert's Land it just had trading rights.

Portrait of Canada is less distinguished in text than in photography, most of it by the widely travelled John de Visser of Toronto. There is a happy variation between long, medium and closeup shots. Usually these are co-ordinated with the text—but not on p. 133, where the Governor-General is shown bareheaded in contradiction with the statement on p. 137.

The maps are excellent, and should have been listed in the table of contents. The index is good, not perfect. The chronology of Canadian history omits the two World Wars, both landmarks in the development of our

country. A 48-page Special Interest Guide neatly lists such things as established archaeological sites, outstanding period architecture, art galleries and folk museums, rock-collecting areas, cruises and special train excursions. The authors are quite right in pointing out that their information will enlarge even Canadians' concept of Canada.

Mrs Harrington, with her photographer husband, has travelled the length and breadth of Canada many times over many years and has written numerous books and articles about the country and its people.

NAVIGATIONS, TRAFFICS & DISCOVERIES, 1774-1848

A Guide to Publications relating to the area now British Columbia

Compiled by Gloria M. Strathern. Prepared under the auspices of the Social Sciences Research Centre and published by the University of Victoria, B.C., 1970. 417 pages. $18.50.

Reviewed by Flora Hamilton Burns

Sponsored by the Centennial Committee of the University of Victoria, this publication, although earlier in period than its predecessor, 'Laying the Foundations, 1849-1899', published in 1968, represents the second volume of *A Bibliography of British Columbia*.

The seventy-five year period covers the world-shattering events of the American War of Independence, 1775-83, the French Revolution with its attendant wars, and the Napoleonic era extending to 1815. As the Bibliography shows, Great Britain and Europe, as well as the newly independent United States, displayed tremendous public interest in the North Pacific coast of America, to the extent that many memoirs, diaries, and other accounts were frequently underwritten by private subscription, and what is now British Columbia became a political battle ground between Great Britain, Spain and the United States.

This volume of the Bibliography has been brilliantly compiled by Mrs G. M. Strathern, B.A. University of New Zealand, and Diploma, Library School, University of Otago, N.Z., who is at present on the staff of the University of Western Ontario. With its five convenient Appendices it affords an index to the events which resulted in publications of historical, political and general interest. A period of just over two years was budgeted for completion of this unique volume which breaks new ground, for as far as known, 'no other study lists all known editions and translations together in such a way that their relationship to each other can be ascertained'.

The titles in the General Index arouse one's interest and curiosity and reveal a mine of British Columbia and Pacific coast history. In spite of its wealth of information the plan of this volume renders it very easy and convenient to use. It lists 631 authors in alphabetical order with notes; principal works consulted are also listed alphabetically, while some sixty of the most important ships that visited the Northwest coast during that period are listed chronologically, together with the names of their commanders.

This valuable, distinguished and opportune addition to British Columbia history will be a boon to all historians and students, and should find a place in the library of everyone interested in the past, present and future history of the Province whose motto is 'Splendor sine occasu'.

Miss Burns, writer and broadcaster, is a scholar of west coast history.

NORTHERN REALITIES

By Jim Lotz. New Press, Toronto, 1970. 307 pages. $8.00.

Reviewed by Pat Carney

No wonder sociologist Jim Lotz bluntly titled his book *Northern Realities*. In dispelling southern illusions about the north, one often uses variations of the phrases 'the harsh facts are . . .' or 'the real problem is . . .' The real problem in the north, believes Lotz, is that we have forgotten that development is supposed to benefit people. Instead, it tends to crush, isolate, impoverish them. Development to him means the slow evolution of opportunity which allows people to develop their own potential to achieve their own goals.

A northerner once told me he had given up trying to communicate with southerners; they couldn't understand his problems. Lotz argues persuasively that the process of encouraging individuals to develop their own potential will spiral upward into group participation and involvement; in the end, the nation as a whole will benefit.

His book goes far beyond the tiresome recounting of bureaucratic blunders. His long association with the north, particularly the Yukon, enables him to dissect such problems as isolation and ignorance and their product, the myopic northern attitude. He writes abrasively, with the clarity of distilled pain, about the effects of past development patterns on the north and northerners.

But he falters when proposing specific solutions. As he points out, we all tend to ride our own hobby-horse in dealing with the north. One of his is a university of the north. But the concept of turning the north into a giant research laboratory—to test, among other things, ideas which may be used in other developing countries—will not do much for northerners who must now cope with conditions far below any acceptable standard. That is a northern reality.

Miss Carney, journalist and economist, is a partner in 'Gemini North', a firm of northern economic consultants based in Yellowknife.

ANIMAL LANGUAGE

How Animals Communicate

Text: Julian Huxley. Recording: Ludwig Koch. Photos: Ylla. Grosset & Dunlap, New York.

Reviewed by Patrick Yahiro

The determination of the quality of this book should not be based solely on the fact that it effectively combines the three distinct entities of sight, sound, and a comprehensive text but also that the entire combined selection is concise and accurate as well as being enjoyable to read and easy to understand. Much credit must be attributed to the three authors who through mutual co-operation employed this relatively recent dynamic concept. Special commendation should go to Ludwig Koch who spent a year in obtaining the vocalization of one particular animal, a llama.

The organization of this book has been well planned. The further one proceeds the more engrossing it becomes. At the end a chart, to be used in conjunction with the playing of the record, is a distinct aid to the listening participant. Because this book is so concise it manages to cover examples of all the major groupings

of the animal kingdom, from the unicellular protozoan and the well known arthropod the katydid, to the mammals, including man.

The only fault is found in the title, *Animal Language*. This seems to have the connotation that animals communicate by vocalization only. The sub-title (How Animals Communicate) deals with this problem effectively, as other methods of communication are also employed by animals. The flashing of the tail of the white-tailed deer, the rattle of the rattlesnake, stomping of hooves by some ungulates, the stridulation in arthropods are some of the numerous other examples. A particularly interesting example involves the display of such animal communication as compared to a psychological stimulus-response. The killdeer feigns injury when danger threatens its nest. This is not a thought process, but rather an innate instinctive behaviour or response. The same can apply in vocalizations where one frog's croak is a stimulus to the next frog and also a response to another.

A note of humour brings the book to an effective end. Man, who is believed to be the most advanced form of the evolutionary tree is compared to a parrot in the ability to vocalize well. 'Parrots have this latter faculty [mechanical reproduction of sounds he hears] even better developed (though it is striking enough in many young children) but for lack of higher mental faculties they cannot be said to have the power of true speech even though they can utter words.'

Mr Yahiro is a zoologist at the Assiniboine Park Zoo in Winnipeg.

THE HOWLING ARCTIC

By Ray Price. Peter Martin Associates, Toronto, 1970. 284 pages. $7.50.

Reviewed by Wanda Neill Tolboom

There is nothing wrong with the retelling of an old tale. It should, and usually does, improve. Such is not the case with the stories collected by Ray Price of Yellowknife, N.W.T. Somehow, despite grim facts of murder, insanity, cannibalism and the depiction of horrible deaths by freezing, starvation and malignacy, each story not only stoutly refuses to howl but manages to fall flat on its face. The author obviously, has done a great deal of research and has written with sincerity of what he has read and has been told. He can be forgiven for failing to check out the correct names of people of whom he writes and the rather haphazard manner in which the chapters are set up with little continuity, but it is difficult to accept these splendid stories when they have been reduced to such prosaic print.

He must, however, be given credit for putting at least a version of them into print for though they may be well known to Northerners they have not been brought together for the Outsider.

Entire chapters are written with the stark simplicity of syntax, reminiscent of a school essay. This may have been an abortive attempt to simulate the narrative of a northern story-teller. Any reader who has spent as much as one night in the Far North will be saddened. A vivid linguist, the tale-spinner of the long winter nights continually enthralls. He sets your teeth on edge, your hair on end and your imagination on fire; always colourful, often obscene but never ever dull. Perhaps narrative must lose a great deal in the metamorphosis of type setting but the reader surely must feel that although the plot outline has been captured, all else has been lost somewhere in antiquity with the story-teller.

The book itself is beautifully turned out with attractive jacket and excellent map and index for easy reference. It is such a pity that the stories fail to stir.

A teacher and author of 'Arctic Bride', 'People of the Snow', Mrs Tolboom has spent many years in the Canadian Arctic.

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NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM: Catalogue of the Library. Vol. 2, Biography

H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1969. £7.7s.0d. or British Information Services, Ottawa. Two parts, pp. xiii, 1-502; viii, 503-977.

Reviewed by L. H. Neatby

The first volume of this series related to *Voyages and Travels*. The second deals with *Biography* not only of seagoing personnel but also of scientists, savants and others whose work is connected with maritime affairs.

Volume 2 is subdivided into two parts, the first listing biographies in the collection, with commentaries, the second providing a Reference of 15,000 names of maritime interest.

The text of these volumes, admirably produced and illustrated, a treasure to the connoisseur and research student, has unhappily been carelessly checked. Dates (admittedly a trial to the proof-reader) are sometimes palpably garbled, and the name of the distinguished Sir Garnet Wolseley is abridged to 'Wolsey'. One hopes that the basic value of the

Catalogue has not been impaired by negligence in the References.

Forthcoming volumes in this series, especially those on *Atlases* and *Piracy* will be awaited with the keenest interest.

1001 BRITISH COLUMBIA PLACE NAMES

By G. P. V. and Helen B. Akrigg. Discovery Press, Vancouver, 1969. 195 pages. $5.70.

The Indians, the Spaniards, the British, the Canadians, have dotted their names about the present Province of British Columbia. English seamen and H B C traders are prominent among those thus remembered by name if not by deed or personality.

Much of that is remedied in this book which delves into some fascinating bits of history and biography. Who would know, for instance that a Canadian-born captain of a ship serving under Nelson at the Battle of the Nile is commemorated in Mount Hallowell—Admiral Sir Benjamin Hallowell? One might guess that delightful names like Spuzzum and Ucluelet are derived from Indian words. Metlakatla, too, would be Indian but interest is added by reference to William Duncan who founded the model settlement in 1862. Metchosin people 'may be saddened to learn that its name . . . means "stinking fish".' But the whale responsible rotted over a century ago. Gonzales Bay has a good Spanish ring to it (after Gonzalo de Lopez de Haro, mate of the *Princesa Real* in 1790); its residents are probably also saddened that it degenerated into Foul Bay even if the significance is a poor anchorage rather than pollution.

Many derivations are difficult to establish and the authors are not dogmatic but offer the alternatives, as in Camosun where the H B C set up Fort Victoria. A concise account of the development of the capital is added and that the authors do not take matters too seriously shows in the comment: 'Nobody can say just when Victoria entered the twentieth century. Certainly it can't have been more than a few years ago. Some will maintain that it hasn't happened yet.'

Omitting names that have disappeared from the map, this is still but a sampling of British Columbia places, and Professor and Mrs Akrigg do not pretend to be infallible, recognizing the pitfalls of local tradition or memory. A minor slip on p. 149 gives the H B C Governor at York Factory as John instead of James Knight.

One might not expect a thousand and one place names to be entertaining reading, but look at the description of Major Rogers (an American with a degree from Yale) of the Pass: this short, snappy little chap 'was a master of picturesque profanity, who continually chewed tobacco and was an artist in expectoration. He wore overalls with pockets behind, and had a plug of tobacco in one pocket, and a sea-biscuit in the other, which was his idea of a season's provisions for an engineer'.

Collecting origins of place names could be a fascinating hobby.

—*M.B.*

FRESH WATER FISHES OF NORTHWESTERN CANADA AND ALASKA

By J. D. McPhail and C. C. Lindsey. Bulletin 173, Fisheries Research Board of Canada. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1970. 381 pages, figures, illus. $8.50.

Reviewed by K. H. Doan

This bulletin documents most of the facts known about the freshwater fishes in over 2 million square miles of one of the most sparsely populated regions of the globe. There are only about 60 species of freshwater fish in an area covered by the drainages of the North American mainland that are tributary either to the Bering Sea, or to the Arctic Ocean from Bering Strait to Hudson Bay south to 60° N; also included are St. Lawrence Island in the Bering Sea and islands of the western Canadian Arctic Archipelago. Identification keys are included for an expanded area which also includes all of Alaska, and the waters of Quebec tributary to Hudson Bay. Literature references are up to date to 1967.

The days of exploration are not yet closed in the north country, and collections are few except along routes of communication. New forms of freshwater life may yet be discovered, especially in unglaciated refuges and perhaps in the Canadian Arctic islands. Studies in virgin freshwater communities, untouched by exploitation and pollution, should add to our understanding of the management of aquatic resources wherever man is abundant.

The authors are recognized experts in fisheries ecology, taxonomy and zoogeography. Each is a staff member in a zoology department, Dr McPhail at the University of British Columbia, and Dr Lindsey at the University of Manitoba. This publication is the result of 11 years collaboration, and was planned to serve several purposes and several audiences, thereby ensuring that every reader will be dissatisfied with at least some of its sections. A glossary of terms is included to aid in the use of keys for the identification of families and species, and an index is provided of the scientific and English and French common names of fishes. Place names are shown on end sheet maps, all species are illustrated by drawings, and known distribution is mapped.

What happened to the fish when ice sheets covered the area? They survived in unglaciated pockets and in lakes and rivers along the edge of the ice. With the retreat of the ice, they penetrated east and south from the Bering refuge, and north from the Pacific and Mississippi refuges. This bulletin's section on geographic patterns is a detective story on a grand scale. Fish are primitive creatures, but they demonstrate a monumental capacity to adapt and survive.

Lest this publication be considered the final compendium of fisheries knowledge in the north an invitation is issued to interested persons who may be in a position to add to the inventory here provided, with instructions for collecting, and the names of institutions where specimens will be identified and recorded towards the day when a revision of this bulletin can be made. Especially lacking is local information on the size and seasons of fish migrations, spawning behaviour, and growth and food habits. With the new interest and thrust in arctic ecology it is to be hoped that many of the informational gaps will be filled.

Dr Doan, Director of Research in the Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources, was formerly chief fisheries biologist for the provincial government.

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The Beaver
Hudson's Bay House
Winnipeg 1, Canada

Part of Three Rivers—Sept. 5, 1859

Canadian Habitant in Winter

SKETCHES BY FRANCES HOPKINS

On 'Ile d'Orvale' she includes herself.

The frontier tradition still practised as an art. Hudson's Bay 'Point' Blankets.

Hudson's Bay 'Point' Blankets were first crafted for the rugged life of the frontier. That time of courage and strength, when useful, everyday objects were made with an eye for superb detail.

As were our blankets. Beautiful. Warm. Sturdy. And they are still made as they were nearly 200 years ago. Woven by craftsmen in England from 100 per cent virgin wool.

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